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CONTENTS

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POLITICAL

International Affairs

U.S. Warnings of Trade Sanctions Viewed [AJ 3 May]	1
U.S. Said 'Exhibiting Belligerence' Over Trade Provision [THE TELEGRAPH 3 May]	1
U.S. Interest in Solving Kashmir Crisis Seen Increasing [JANSATTA 4 May]	3
OIC Hostile Resolutions Against Nation Condemned	4
Pakistani Propaganda Successful [AJ 12 May]	4
Sticking Nose Into Kashmir [AJ 12 May]	5
Not Indian Muslims' Spokesmen [JANSATTA 22 May]	6

Regional Affairs

Girl 10-Years-Old Said Abducted, Jailed in Bangladesh [THE STATESMAN 26 Apr]	8
Plebiscite Exists [NAVBHARAT TIMES 01 May]	8
Islamic Fundamentalism Seen Threat to Region, Resistance Urged [SUNDAY 17, 24 Apr, 1 May]	9
Infiltration Seen Widespread, Threat to Internal Security [ORGANISER 2 May]	19
Threat From China's Nuclear, Missile Programs Analyzed [JANSATTA 19 May]	20
Retention of Siachen Glacier For National Security Advised [JANSATTA 5 Jun]	21
Pakistan Possibly Involved in Bombay Murders [INDIAN EXPRESS 3 Jun]	23
Article Cautions Delhi on Developments Relating to Tibet [PATRIOT 9 Jun]	23

Internal Affairs

BJP Sympathetic to Mamata Banerjee [ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA 11 Apr]	24
Advani Interviewed on Early Elections, BJP Policies [THE WEEK 18 Apr]	24
BJP Said Searching for New Issues [THE TELEGRAPH 21 Apr]	28
Mafia Influence Over Politicians Seen Well Ingrained [THE TELEGRAPH 22 Apr]	29
Tea Industry Affected by Rebel Activities [INDIAN EXPRESS 24 Apr]	30
Muslim Personal Law Board Said To Reject Ayodhya Initiative [SUNDAY 24 Apr]	30
CBI Said Raiding RSS, VHP Offices [SUNDAY 24 Apr]	31
Trade Unions Affiliated with BJP Said Increasing [THE STATESMAN 25 Apr]	32
Government Said Ready to Form Security Council to Oversee Security [THE TELEGRAPH 29 Apr]	33
Arjun Singh Said Still Major Challenger [INDIA TODAY 30 Apr]	34
Arjun Singh Efforts to Woo Non-Congress Support Reported [JANSATTA 1 May]	35
Dissension, Not Ethnicity [NAVBHARAT TIMES 01 May]	35
Politics in Rajasthan Analyzed, Seen in Disarray [THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA 30 Apr]	36
Arjun Singh Seen Rallying Dissident Congress (I) Supporters [SUNDAY 1 May]	37
Dismissal of Elected Governments Seen Harmful to Democracy [BOMBAY SUNDAY OBSERVER 2 May]	38
Government Plans on Ayodhya Said Alienating Muslims, Hindus [THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA 7 May]	40
Invocation of Article 356 by Government Seen Misuse of Power [THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA 7 May]	41
Postponement of State Elections Viewed [AJ 11 May]	44
Election Commissioner Seen Disregarding Constitution [AJ 13 May]	45
Muslim League Leader Expresses Fear of BJP Rule [JANSATTA 17 May]	46
Congress (I), RSS Relations Viewed	47
Dal Detects Collusion [DECCAN HERALD 20 May]	47
RSS Keeps Low Profile [INDIAN EXPRESS 20 May]	48

Stay Disapproved [INDIAN EXPRESS 20 May]	48
RSS Vindicated [INDIAN EXPRESS 21 May]	49
Congress (I) Seen Facing Critical Period After By-Election Losses [AJ 26 May]	49
Communal Tensions Seen Root of Violent Incidents, Clashes [JANSATTA 25 May]	50
Editorial Views Governors Under Congress (I) Rule [NAVBHARAT 25 May]	52
Commentary Justifies 'Homeland' For Kashmiri Pundits [NAVBHARAT TIMES 25 May]	52
Janata Dal Seen Unable to Stop Factionalism [JANSATTA 29 May]	54
Attempts to Politicize Religious Rites Criticized [AJ 30 May]	55
Paper Calls for 'All-Party' Talks on Kashmir [INDIAN EXPRESS 10 Jun]	56

ECONOMIC

Commentary Foresees Sustained Economic Growth [All India Radio 29 May]	57
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MILITARY

Shrinking Budgets Said Causing Military Inadequacy [INDIA TODAY 30 Apr]	58
Punjab Terrorists Said Moving to Uttar Pradesh [JANSATTA 8 May]	64

SOCIAL ISSUES

Muslims Said Fed-Up With Muslim Leaders' Agenda [THE STATESMAN 21 Apr]	65
Direction, Spread of Student Movements Analyzed [JANSATTA 2 May]	66
Language Movement Initiated [JANSATTA 5 May]	67
More Instruction, Libraries Needed [JANSATTA 6 May]	68
English Retains Prominence [AJ 5 May]	70
Doordarshan to Broadcast on 12 Separate Channels [JANSATTA 14 May]	72
Corruption Seen Spreading Throughout Society [AJ 14 May]	72
Information Technology Records 20 Percent Growth [INDIAN EXPRESS 5 Jun]	73

International Affairs

U.S. Warnings of Trade Sanctions Viewed

93AS0849A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 3 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Special 301 and India"]

[Text] The United States has sharpened its 301 Trade Law sword to threaten India with yet another trade war. To this end, the Clinton administration has established a task force. The main purpose of this task force is to force India into accepting all kinds of conditions, using intellectual property as an excuse. It has started a trade war against Brazil and Thailand, in addition to India. The United States has been using such tricks against developing countries for a long time. During the eighties, it joined the patent license and technical knowledge with investment and profit, and in order to make as much money as possible, it imposed "special" and "super" laws over the importing countries. The United States supports "multi-sides" at the international level, and at the same time, it adopts protectionism to create a trade contradiction. It is not necessary to explain here how much difference there is between its actions and its talk. With the end of the Cold War, the desire for economic prosperity that has risen is being threatened by the U.S. attitude. As for India, the United States considers it as just a large market. It wants to fill up the market of this country with its investments and products. However, when it does not get this freedom, it is ready to take vengeful actions. Therefore, it is using the excuse of intellectual investment, and has started to give us false threats. Michael Kantor, the U.S. trade representative, has said that India has practiced unfair trade methods for a long time, and that the United States will not wait any longer to take action against it. There is no doubt that his threat is against the international standard for trade cooperation. It is just not enough to condemn it. It appears that the United States is adamant about taking some action; however, India has decided not to submit to it.

The United States included India in its list of countries to punish under Special Provision 301 in 1974. It accepted various conditions in the context of trademarks and copyrights and tried to take care of this conflict. However, the United States took out the sword again in 1992 and placed India on the priority list. Not only this, it also went through the drama of investigating India's policies, and imposed heavy duties on Indian clothes and specific categories of medicines, in order to stop their import. The U.S. rules for giving priority to nations for trade could be defined by the old fable of the wolf and the lamb. How can the policies of an independent and autonomous nation be decided according to the specific economic interests of a country? The United States alleges that India's policies about patents, copyrights, and trademarks are not appropriate, and that these negatively affect U.S. trade. According to foreign policy protocol, it is an accepted standard that, if a nation has objections to another nation's specific flaws, it limits

action to that specific law only. Therefore, the United States' decision to impose restrictions on trade with India just to show disagreement with the Indian intellectual laws is wholly wrong. This practice is extremely dangerous, and the whole world should unite to stop it and make a concrete decision about it. Otherwise, the wolf will devour the lambs one by one.

The U.S. administration threatened India exactly when Dr. Manmohan Singh, India's finance minister, was in Washington, D.C., reassuring the world about new economic policies and looking for support. Can we not call it psychological pressure? Is it not a threat to force India to change its economic policies according to U.S. needs? Does it not want to threaten India to force it to accept the Dunkel proposal? In the Uruguay talks, not only developing but also industrialized nations opposed this proposal. India wants to resolve the trade-related intellectual investment proposal to deal with the patent protection issue, as suggested by Arthur Dunkel, the director of GATT. However, seeing such strong opposition to this proposal, it is hard to say if Indo-U.S. differences over the patent can be taken care of. The United States wants India to accept this proposal as is and to offer more amenities. This is another reason for implementing the Special 301 law. It emphasizes that, after the talks on GATT are finished, the period for implementation will be reduced from 20 to 10 years, and the patent will be considered effective from the day the agreement is signed. In this context, Finance Minister Manmohan Singh said that unilateral action by any country can aggravate the situation even further. The United States should think about this carefully and look for a solution with involvement from all sides.

U.S. Said 'Exhibiting Belligerence' Over Trade Provision

93AS0836D Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
3 May 93 p 8

[Article by H.K. Nigam: "Entry by Route 301"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Sometime before the United States government announced the new sanctions under the Super 301 provisions against India, the U.S. trade commissioner, Mr Mickey Kantor, had released a report criticising India's trade barrier in services. Among the sectors the report claims are being 'victimised' is insurance.

For the insurance sector, it appears the trade policy of the administration under President Bill Clinton will be roughly the same as that under Mr George Bush. It will focus on opening up India's market for U.S. insurance. Mr Kantor, with a strident voice similar to that of Ms Carla Hills earlier, considers India a perpetrator of barriers to competition. This was the thrust of the U.S. national trade estimate report in 1993 which reiterated U.S. interest in the Indian insurance and banking market.

It recalled the investigations initiated in 1989 under the Super 301 provision of the U.S. trade act. The U.S. determined India's insurance practices were "unreasonable." Mr Kantor's report pins hope on the establishment by the Indian finance ministry, Mr Manmohan Singh, of a top level committee headed by the former Reserve Bank of India governor, Mr R.N. Malhotra, to study insurance industry reforms, including privatisation of insurance services.

As far back as in October 1989, while addressing the Asian American Voters' Coalition at the White House, the then deputy U.S. trade representative, Mr Linn Williams, blatantly interfered in India's internal affairs. He questioned the nationalisation of life insurance business. Showing a false concern for the Indian consumer, he said "the fact that it has been nationalised for so many years does not mean it is necessarily good."

The U.S. seems to take its civilising mission too seriously when it offers gratuitous advice to Indian consumers. By demanding a chunk of the Indian insurance business which has been nationalised for 37 years by national leaders, it is overstepping its limits.

The U.S. temporarily changed its strategies of interference following universal condemnation of its tactics of bludgeoning nations with Super 301 legislation. Mr Williams projected the U.S. as the champion not only of its own industries but those of other countries and of foreign consumers. He referred particularly to India when demanding it open its markets "so that other Asian countries as well as American companies can...benefit."

U.S. action under Super 301, part of its omnibus trade act, was announced in May 1989. The U.S. objected to India's restrictions on foreign investment and the state monopoly on life and general insurance. It placed India on a "priority watch list" because of what it perceived as poor protection of intellectual property rights.

Life Insurance Corporation [LIC] of India is one of the lynchpins of the nation's massive social welfare system. By forgetting this and pushing for privatisation of LIC, the U.S. is risking damage to diplomatic ties with India. The U.S. has always exerted pressure and exhibited belligerence towards countries like India which refuse to toe its line. The U.S. administration is somewhat sure with a dose of liberalisation the Indian banking sector will be accessible. But the volatile U.S. insurance lobby resents the fact the nationalised insurance sector is still not available.

The U.S. is also demonstrating an insensitivity to developing nations by refusing to recognise they have a right to choose their own socio-economic institutions. The Bush administration's defence on the proposed punitive actions against India under Super 301 brought out the real aims of such interference. It is curious the U.S., so vocally supportive of political and economic liberalism, should seek to enforce its terms on nations.

A team from the International Finance Corporation which visited India early this year received participation requests from several companies to enter the insurance sector. It was assured by the government which had considered such a possibility. According to it, the Housing Development Finance Corporation, Tatas, Mahindra, Hindustan Lever and a few insurers from the U.S. and Britain were interested in entering the insurance sector.

The insurance sector, till now out of bounds for foreign companies, will find at least five foreign insurance outfits, two from the U.S. and three from Britain, knocking at the door. While Goldstar Insurance and Manila-based Indo-American insurance companies have sought the government's approval to operate in the general insurance field, Prudential, Eagle Star and Gresham insurance are waiting to step into the life insurance business.

It is obvious North Block is under pressure from Mr Arthur Dunkel, secretary general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and the International Monetary Fund and World Bank to open the insurance sector to foreign companies. The initial indication of the government's soft approach was seen when a delegation of the commerce ministry visited the U.S. at the end of last year. The government kept denying its intentions for some time due to fierce domestic opposition.

The size of the operation of foreign companies is expected to be much bigger than that of LIC and GIC. The foreign outfits are also keen to operate pension and retirement benefit funds for private sector companies. Since this is a relatively new area, overseas companies are keen to tap it. Lower rates of premium, a vast products range, better servicing through net-working and reduced staff will help foreign firms cut into LIC business. Aggressive marketing strategies will also give them an edge over LIC.

In this context they have asked the government to allow them to invest their funds not just in government securities and bonds but also in equity of private firms. If such permission is granted and given the assured untapped clientele in India, the LIC's primacy in the life insurance sector is likely to be destroyed.

If any doubts were left in anyone's mind over the willingness of the U.S. administration to play hard to get its ways, the latest wielding of the Super 301 baton should put that to rest. There is every likelihood the U.S. will use all its economic and political muscle to get India's insurance sector opened up. Should that happen we will witness one of the most tragic consequences of what is being enthusiastically termed as India's brave new world.

U.S. Interest in Solving Kashmir Crisis Seen Increasing

93AS0849C New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 4 May 93
p 4

[Article by Ray Singh: "What Does America Seek in Kashmir"]

[Text] Since last month, there have been hints that the Clinton administration had decided on a strategy, if not a policy, about Kashmir. According to American experts, it is necessary that India accept the U.S. administration's strategy. In order to get India's support, Deputy Assistant Secretary John Malott, director of the South Asian Bureau of the U.S. Department of State, is coming to Delhi in May. It is usually very hot and blistering hot in the middle of May in Delhi, and no official from any foreign country wants to come to India, unless he has been given strict orders from the top. The question arises: Why was Malott ordered to visit Delhi at this time? Is the situation in the Kashmir valley so explosive that the United States feels it necessary to interfere? Is the United States worried that after the Bombay blasts, India is not able to control the situation in Kashmir? Has U. S. intelligence—the CIA—learned details about another bombing conspiracy by the Islamic fundamentalists in Kashmir? Or has the situation in Pakistan deteriorated so badly that Ghulam Ishaq Khan cannot stay in power without starting a war with India?

These are the kinds of questions which cannot be answered with a clear yes or no. However, we can say that the U.S. State Department wants to start a new policy regarding Kashmir. That is why the U.S. State Department has opened a new bureau, known as the South Asian Bureau, headed by John Malott. It is said that the need for a South Asian bureau was felt during George Bush's administration; however, it was established by Bill Clinton. Washington is feeling that with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the security of the region is endangered by Islamic fundamentalism, not only in the central Asian republics and Afghanistan, but in the whole south Asia region, and that China could benefit from all this.

The United States knows well that if pressure is put on Pakistan over Kashmir, it will start a new front against the United States of America by using Islam as an excuse. Here it is important to know that the United States has stopped aid to Pakistan since 1990, in order to show its opposition to Pakistan's making nuclear bombs. Pakistan is facing serious economic problems because U.S. aid, worth \$650 million, was stopped. Pakistan has joined forces with Iran, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and other Islamic countries, and is working against the United States of America. Some Pakistani politicians now talk openly about U.S. imperialism and colonialism. The CIA officials know this very well; therefore, the U.S. State Department wants to put pressure on India instead of Pakistan, because it would be more appropriate for U.S. goals.

The South Asia experts in the United States believe that using this new U.S. strategy will allow Pakistan to be stopped from establishing a new front against the United States. At the same time, Pakistan can be made happy by putting pressure on India. According to these experts, Indian control over Kashmir is so weak now that every time there is an accident, the Indian government asks for help from INTERPOL, Scotland Yard, and U.S. experts. In this situation, India has to tolerate U.S. pressure. How far the Indian government will tolerate this pressure will be known after John Malott talks to Indian officials this month. What kind of pressure will the United States put on India? A glimpse of this was felt from the statement Malott issued on 28 April in the U.S. Congress. In his statement, John Malott said many things in an unclear way, and it is hard to get the real meaning. It is important to fully analyze his statement.

Malott told Congress in his statement, "The Clinton administration does not support having a referendum in Kashmir." At the same time, he also said that the United States neither supports nor opposes holding a plebiscite in Kashmir. In his statement, John Malott supported his first quotation by offering that the United States has not made any statements since after the 1965 India-Pakistan War. In this statement, a mention was made about holding a plebiscite in Kashmir. One U.S. congressman told John Malott that he was talking about holding, and then not holding, a plebiscite in Kashmir, and that at the same time, he did not support holding a plebiscite in Kashmir. Was his statement not contradictory? They brought Malott's attention to John Kelly's 1990 statement, in which Kelly, former under secretary in the State Department, had said, "The U.S. Government believes that a plebiscite in Kashmir is essential." In response, he said that Kelly's statement was wrong. While clarifying it, Malott said that Kelly had issued the statement when Stephen Solarz had cornered Kelly through interrogation. Malott's statement means that whatever John Kelly had said in 1990 was said when he was nervous and under pressure, and what he said was inappropriate. If we keep this example in mind, we can say tomorrow that whatever John Malott is saying now is not very appropriate.

The second thing John Malott mentioned in his statement was that, even though the United States does not want to interfere in the Kashmir issue, it would be willing to help resolve this issue if both sides desire it. The United States wants to help establish an environment conducive to talks about Kashmir. What kind of cooperation or help the United States is offering us will be learned when John Malott explains this to us in New Delhi.

The third strange thing Malott said was about not having a plebiscite in Kashmir. The UN Security Council passed a resolution in 1948 asking for a plebiscite in Kashmir. John Malott made two comments about this resolution. The first was in support of India. Malott said that the 1948 resolution to have a plebiscite in Kashmir asked Pakistan to vacate the region it has occupied, and

Pakistan has not done that. Therefore, a plebiscite in Kashmir could not be held. The second important aspect is that there were to be only two questions, according to the resolution passed in the 1948. These two questions were: Do the Kashmiris want to merge with India? Do they want to merge with Pakistan? John Malott said that a third question—Do Kashmiris want an independent nation?—is not mentioned in this resolution? According to him, the decision rests with the Muslims and non-Muslims in Kashmir. At this time, because of terrorism, murders, looting, rapes, and violence, non-Muslims have fled Kashmir. Their number in the Kashmir Valley is almost zero. Because of the recent police riots and the daily violent activities of the terrorists, it is not possible for non-Muslim Kashmiris to return home. There does not seem to be any hope for an end to the terrorism in Kashmir in the near future. Does John Malott want to establish Kashmir as a new independent state, as the terrorists want, and ignore the people who have left Kashmir, giving birth to a new Bosnia? In Europe, Yugoslavia was the only country that was an important member of the neutral bloc. Neither the Western nations nor the Soviet Union were happy with its decision to remain neutral. The result of this unhappiness is in front of us all now. Not only did Yugoslavia divide into two parts, but the civil war there has made the lives of its people intolerable. The Indian people do not want a new Bosnia in Kashmir. It does not matter whether the United States achieves its goal or not.

In the context of South Asia, John Malott discussed U.S. foreign policy and claimed that the United States wants peace in this region. India agrees with this U.S. goal. Establishing peace and stability does not mean that Kashmir's merger with India should be totally ignored.

Another new thing that Malott mentioned was permission for international human rights organizations to investigate the allegations about military and paramilitary forces suppressing human rights in Kashmir. Human rights, in themselves, are important, and suppressing them is not permitted in the Indian Constitution or the U.S. Constitution. John Malott should know that those who protect the human rights of terrorists who loot openly, murder everyone, rape, and are bent upon inhuman violence, are criminals themselves. These days, attempts to interfere are made everywhere by claiming protection of human rights. No self-respecting nation can accept such interference in its internal affairs, even when this interference is covered with the golden mask of human rights.

The most important question is this: How eager is President Clinton to resolve the Kashmir issue? Malott says Kashmir is the main issue preventing good relations between India and Pakistan. His second reasoning is that the Kashmir issue could not be resolved even after the 1972 Simla Agreement, in which bilateral talks were proposed. According to the CIA estimate, another Pakistan-India war could start over the Kashmir issue, and nuclear weapons could be used in this war. Malott says that an immediate solution to the Kashmir issue is

essential because of this danger and for international peace and stability in this region.

OIC Hostile Resolutions Against Nation Condemned

Pakistani Propaganda Successful

93AS0886A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 12 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Lethal Propaganda Against India"]

[Text] The foreign ministers of Islamic countries expressed the opinion in Karachi that the struggle to protect a nation should not be seen as terrorism. These Islamic nations will call an international conference to discuss this issue and present their conclusions to the United Nations. Sitting in the neighborhood of India and talking about terrorism in this vein clearly indicates that the Islamic Conference has been duped by Pakistan and, while targeting Jammu-Kashmir, has agreed with Islamabad that whatever Pakistan is doing in Kashmir and Punjab cannot be considered terrorism. At this conference, which was called to discuss the problems in Bosnia and Palestine, Pakistan insisted on discussing the issue of terrorism. Even though no proposal was discussed, a decision was made to establish a task force, which will present its report at the Islamic Nations Conference, to be held in Tunis in 1994. However, the Conference has indicated by this discussion on Kashmir that these countries support Pakistan and endorse all Pakistani activity in Kashmir. It has also been learned that the Islamic Conference has a special interest in resolving the Kashmir issue using the Simla Agreement. Even more serious is the fact that the Conference refuses to accept Kashmir as an integral part of India. All of this indicates that this is an international conspiracy against India.

The fact is that Pakistan is worried about the increasing U.S. pressure on it. The American Government fully believes that Pakistan is supporting terrorist activities in the Jammu-Kashmir and Punjab provinces of India and that it is training terrorists in its camps. Pakistan has been warned that it will be declared a terrorist nation and will be included in a terrorist alert list. India has also given proof of Pakistan's anti-India campaign and Pakistan has become nervous and has taken refuge in the Islamic Nations Conference. It has raised the question of religion and, while calling for solidarity, is begging for assistance. It is true that there are some nations in the Islamic Conference that have good relations with India and do not want to openly oppose it. However, some fundamentalist countries will raise the question of religion and will prefer to support Pakistan in an India-Pakistan conflict. As a result, these countries have begun discussions about imposing restrictions on India in order to counter the U.S. intention to declare Pakistan a terrorist nation. At this point, India has given the United Nations the timely advice that international relations should not be influenced by religion, and the United

Nations is working to follow this suggestion. It is important to restrict the activities of fundamentalist groups in order to avoid negative effects on international economic relations. In this context, India should increase its efforts at the diplomatic level. Actions that are like digging a well when one is thirsty and looking for a way to escape when water has reached one's neck will only push the country backwards. In this context, we would like to mention the 1971 incident when East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) sent hundreds of thousands of families and refugees to India and followed the Pakistani Government's refusal to accept Indira Gandhi's kind advice. Instead, they were conspiring to attack India. At that time, India sent Jayaprakash Narayan as its representative to many countries and he managed to get support for India.

Therefore, India has to be very careful in such situations. Being apathetic about incidents that affect it could prove suicidal. In this country's politics, it is often heard that even in situations that affect our country, the government does not act appropriately. It says that India has played a very impressive role, and that India is a peace-loving and neutral country, and everybody accepts it. This policy must be there, too; however, that inept neutrality is meaningless. If the government is not alert at the right time, there can be some serious problems. It is the responsibility of the whole opposition to cooperate fully with the government in situations when the country is in danger. It is imperative that the government form a concrete strategy and take all of them in confidence. After the Ayodhya incident, the new forces that have emerged against India require that the government form a clear policy to counter them. Pakistan will not hesitate to take any action to undermine India. The United States, which has warned Pakistan about being labeled a terrorist nation, has a strong Pakistani lobby that is spreading false propaganda against India. Recently, Pakistan's former prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, returned from the United States, after convincing it to restore the suspended economic aid until the new elections and to not declare it a terrorist nation. It is not hidden from anyone how much the danger to India increased after Pakistan began receiving unlimited aid from the United States, and all this had caused increased tension in this region. The government should also consider this issue.

Sticking Nose Into Kashmir

93AS0886B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 12 May 93 p 6

[Article by Raj Kumar: "Islamic Countries' Anti-India Resolution"]

[Text] There is nothing surprising about the passing of a resolution on Kashmir by the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in Islamabad. Still, Pakistani Foreign Minister Farooq Laghari has expressed great satisfaction that the Conference has accepted a Kashmir-related resolution for the first time. In this resolution, there is a

clear mention of atrocities being committed against the Kashmiri people and violations of human rights there.

The OIC established a mission to learn facts about Kashmir. On 26 April, the English newspaper DAWN published this mission's report. In this report, the Islamic member countries recommended that economic and trade relations with India be reviewed. If India were not to stop committing atrocities in Kashmir, then these Islamic nations would change their policies about India. According to the DAWN report, the mission has freed Pakistan of the accusation that it is helping terrorists in Kashmir.

This mission was appointed only a few months ago and was advised to find facts and travel Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Kashmir proper. India did not allow this mission to enter Kashmir. Therefore, it just visited the Pakistan-occupied area of Kashmir between 14 and 18 February. This mission met with the so-called Kashmiri refugees and, after talking with them, concluded that India has imposed some very merciless laws to legalize its control. Indian security forces, it was found, were pressuring the Kashmiris. It was Indian policy to get rid of the Kashmiris who demanded the right of self-determination, and unnecessary force was being used to this end. The mission also accused India of the mass rapes of innocent women, according to an organized plan. In this context, it called India's clarification nonsense and recommended that international pressure be put on India based on the fact that two nations are involved, and that the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Human Rights Commission, and other agencies be asked to investigate the violations of human rights.

Pakistan is expressing happiness by "putting its own opinion on the tongue of the mission." However, it cannot fool the world. The truth is that talking about the whole world is a far cry. It has not even been successful in misleading the nations of the Islamic Conference. Mr. Umar Mustafa al-Muntasir, special representative of the Libyan president, has expressed his disagreement about the Kashmir-related resolutions with India's minister of state for foreign affairs, R.L. Bhatiya, in New Delhi. There are many reasons to believe that Egypt has also kept itself out of this resolution. Thus, the bottom line is that the importance of the OIC resolution is not worth more than so much waste paper. With the fall of the Soviet Union, the influence of the six Muslim majority republics can be a new challenge for the OIC. In February 1992, the six new Central Asian republics—Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan—expressed a desire to join the Islamic economic organization. This organization was created by Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey. It is believed that the Muslim majority republics of Central Asia will not be willing to give up control to the fundamentalist Islamic nations.

It is no less interesting that the Islamic countries that took part in the OIC could not recognize the flagrant

dance of vested interests in Pakistani politics, even when the representatives of OIC countries were right there in Pakistan. It would be more logical to say that they did not have the courage to face the truth. The OIC meeting was held on 24 April. Only one week earlier, on 16 April, Pakistan's then-prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, accused President Ghulam Ishaq Khan on national television of conspiring to overthrow his government. The next day, on 17 April, Benazir Bhutto returned from London to Pakistan. She met with the president in the evening and made some kind of agreement with him. The president announced the dismissal of Nawaz Sharif's government and the National Assembly. He had Balakh Sher Mazari take the oath of prime minister of the caretaker government. The next day, on 18 April, Sher Mazari announced that, if the accusations of corruption against the dismissed prime minister were proved, then he would be arrested. Twenty-four hours later, on 19 April, Benazir Bhutto stated, "The president has assured me that the assemblies in four states will be dismissed." The following day, on 20 April, the nine-judge bench of the Lahore High Court admitted the writ against the president's order submitted by Gohar Ayub Khan. The Court did not issue an order to nullify the president's dismissal order, however.

On 21 April Asif Zardari, Benazir Bhutto's husband, was included in the cabinet as a minister. The next day, on 22 April, Mrs. Bhutto demanded that the next election be held under military supervision. Why did the OIC not see through Pakistan's latest drama? Only these countries can answer this question. If we try to find the answer using logic, then we must say that the OIC member countries went there just for a ceremonial visit. They finished this ceremony and then went off on their own separate ways. Pakistan was the host, and they had to wipe its tears. Therefore, they put their stamp of approval on the Kashmir resolution.

The fact is that Pakistan will not benefit from this. If India uses some foresight, then it can benefit from this development. While the aforementioned resolution exposes the so-called Islamic liberalism, it also sheds light on the Indian propaganda machinery and India's unclear policy on Kashmir. There is no room for argument here over the fact that India does not have any organized plan to rebut Pakistan's false propaganda. Its proof is the fact that India has failed in getting the support of the powerful Western nations that had made some changes in their attitude towards Kashmir. It is useless to go into a discussion over this issue here. It would be better that India improve its propaganda machine and adopt a policy about Kashmir which does not allow repetition of such incidents as the recent "police rebellion." This work is not just difficult; it is very difficult. However, we cannot call this a policy of waiting for the appropriate time. Simply sending money to Kashmir will not help it. What we need is implementation of some beneficial developmental plan. This will be possible only when we add some non-government people to the government who, instead of sitting in

comfortable drawing rooms and giving advice, are able to also do the fieldwork. As for Kashmir, the central cabinet members must learn how to control their mouths. The world is not interested in what the Indian Government wants. The only thing they can influence is the policy on how India can help Kashmir and the Kashmiris. One positive result of the bad OIC resolution can be changing the attitude of other countries, and we must do it.

Not Indian Muslims' Spokesmen

93AS0886C New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 22 May 93
p 4

[Article by Kranti Kumar Sharma: "OIC's Lamentations Over Kashmir"]

[Text] The passing of resolutions at the recent five-day meeting of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), held by foreign ministers in Karachi, that impose scientific, cultural, and manpower restrictions against India can be called a deplorable diplomatic defeat for us. Even more deplorable than this defeat is India's lethargy that helped Pakistan continue its shadow war against India. In response to this war we either sleep peacefully or issue defensive statements. It needs to be mentioned that the OIC passed this resolution on Pakistan's insistence over the so-called mistreatment of the Muslims in Kashmir and condemning the destruction of the mosque structure in Ayodhya. This document demanded that India be pressured to stop violating human rights in Kashmir, and that India allow self-determination, and political, diplomatic, moral, and material help be provided to the struggling people in Kashmir. Is this not a criminal action that encourages a separatist movement in a state within an independent nation and that interferes in its internal affairs?

It is deplorable that the OIC, which claims to represent the Muslims in the whole world, has not made India a member. Not only this, Indian Muslims have tried to get representation in the OIC several times, and they were told that they do not qualify because they are not Muslims of an Islamic country. This was stated in spite of the fact that India has the second largest Muslim population in the world. On what moral grounds can this organization claim to represent Indian Muslims when it does not even allow India, which has one of the largest Muslim populations in the world, to participate in its meetings? The member countries of this organization have forgotten that their conspiratorial sympathy will hurt the Muslims in India. The Kashmiri extremists who have expressed joy and relief at the OIC resolutions should also consider the appropriateness of interfering in India's internal affairs and the indirect effects of these resolutions.

Our foreign ministry has been unsuccessful in unmasking the motives behind OIC's improper representation of Indian Muslims. It has also failed in providing facts about the real problems to the Islamic

nations with which India has good relations and which India has supported at the risk of its own national interests. Now the ministry personnel are apologetically explaining that these countries were misled by Pakistani diplomacy. Does this not imply that we could not convince them and could not present our side in a believable manner? The need for such efforts was mentioned when the Islamic nations reacted to the 6 December destruction of the disputed structure. Why did our foreign ministry sit idle? India has been able to properly understand the problems of Muslim countries. There was no reason for their not agreeing with us if the Ayodhya and Kashmir issues were presented to them effectively. They should have been informed that it is not India, but Pakistan, that is torturing Kashmiris by encouraging terrorist activities there.

Anyhow, we should not worry about the results of Islamic countries' restrictions. Everyone from Abdullah Bukhari to even minor leaders in Pakistan have given us such threats. However, they know that such restrictions will be harmful to them rather than to India. It would be in India's favor if they do impose these restrictions, because India will get rid of these daily blackmail threats for good. However, what worries us is Pakistan's success in the Karachi OIC meeting in making Kashmir a Muslim problem comparable to Palestine, South Africa, and Bosnia at the international level. It will be able to use this as a pretext to keep India involved in a lengthy shadow war, help factional forces, and let the Kashmir issue deteriorate like a cancerous limb. Pakistan will hide all its terrorist activities behind all this.

Pakistan is suffering from double or triple tragedies at present, and its latest strategy against India is a product of these tragedies. Its failure to control its internal problems and the continuing tug-of-war for power within the government has forced it to wear the mask of an aggressor. This mask can be anti-India, since Pakistani mentality has already been made fertile for an anti-India harvest. It is natural for Pakistan to be scared, because, in addition to all these problems, the sword of being labeled a terrorist nation is hanging over its head now. Pakistan is also facing new problems because of the return of Russian military from Afghanistan and the end of the Cold War. It should be remembered that Pakistani military rulers had started to present their country as a fundamentalist nation when the Soviets interfered in Afghanistan in 1979. In the words of Khan Abdul Wali Khan, the president of Pakistan's Awami National Party, "After maintaining the image of a fundamentalist Islamic nation for a long time, Pakistan is trying to find a new facade to hide its image behind. The present Pakistani stand on Kashmir is also an effort to find that facade."

The question arises: Can Pakistan still succeed in its efforts if India takes an offensive stand instead of being on the defensive? It is unfortunate that our leaders have learned to be timid when dealing with Pakistan. We express our embarrassment about the treatment of minorities here whenever Pakistan accuses us. India's

minorities are happier and safer than the minorities in any Muslim country. They are not discriminated against over religion and they can attain, and have attained, even the highest office in the nation. Why do we feel guilty whenever Pakistan plays the broken record of minorities' interests? Why do we not give up his apologetic stand and give a strong warning to Pakistan and the separatists in Kashmir?

Parliament members of all parties have expressed concern over the OIC resolutions and have asked the government to start a counter campaign over the Kashmir issue. However, the action of our foreign ministry was limited to words such as "serious objection" and "adopting a strict attitude." The parliamentary advisory committee working with the foreign ministry was told that the Kashmir and Ayodhya resolutions passed by the OIC were unilateral and could harm its good relations with India. A ceremonial statement was issued rejecting OIC's resolutions and recommendations. Another action was a foreign ministry spokesman declaring that the resolutions passed in the Karachi meeting were "wholly unacceptable. Kashmir is an integral part of India. Pakistan must accept this fact and cooperate with India in order to establish peace and stability in the subcontinent."

It is not necessary to say that all these ceremonies did not, and will not effect Pakistan at all. Such strict actions are serious concerns and have been repeated several times in the past and are being repeated every other day after the Ayodhya incident. Pakistan still continues to use the neutral nations and OIC platforms for spewing poison against India. When the present terrorism phase started in Kashmir, then-Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto announced establishment of a 100 million rupee relief fund for Kashmir. Benazir had thus formed this strategy to internationalize the Kashmir issue and collect money from all over the world in the name of a relief fund for refugees coming from Kashmir. Will Pakistan not find itself trapped in its own noose if we start a relief fund to help the Sindhis and Karachi Mohajirs in response to Benazir's strategy?

Defeating Pakistan in its own false humanistic and religious strategy is easy, because we do not have to look for new weapons; we will hurl back the weapons it throws at us. Pakistan accuses us of mistreating Kashmiri Muslims. Can India not present the case of atrocities and human rights violations against Sindhis, Baluchs, Mohajirs, Ahmedia Muslims, and other minorities in Pakistan? It is said that it is does not behoove us to act like minor gangsters and lower ourselves to using such profanity. However, the fact is that Pakistan understands only this language. It is an accepted fact that India has weakened its position at the international level by not interfering in its neighboring nation's internal affairs. Pakistan has been able to strengthen the belief that India has failed to hold a referendum in Kashmir as per the UN resolutions. Is it not the proper answer to the question of having a referendum that India does not want its autonomy questioned by this pressure to hold a

referendum, and that Pakistan as well as the world should understand this fact?

We must also show the nations within the OIC how they are standing on very shaky ground. They passed many resolutions in Karachi relating to Kashmir, Bosnia, Palestine, disarmament, and regional security and tabled the discussion on the question of terrorism. Four Islamic nations—Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, and Malaysia—had alleged that the terrorists trained in Pakistan during the Afghanistan campaign are involved in terrorist activities in those countries. These countries accused the fundamentalist Islamic governments of the terrorist activities there. Where was the OIC compassion, which is so eloquent over human rights violations in Kashmir, hiding when these uncomfortable complaints are made by their fellow Muslim nations?

Regional Affairs

Girl 10-Years-Old Said Abducted, Jailed in Bangladesh

93AS0836A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
26 Apr 93 p 11

[Text] Mitali Thakur, a 10-year-old girl, has been languishing in a Bangladesh jail while her parents are making desperate appeals to get their daughter back.

Mitali Thakur, a 10-year-old girl and resident of Diamond Harbour who has been reportedly missing for about a year, is now languishing in jail in Jessore in Bangladesh. Her parents are running from pillar to post to get her back. Her hapless father, Mr Ratan Thakur, a driver by profession, has already urged the Ministry of External Affairs to ensure his daughter's safe and immediate return to India. The Association for Protection of Democratic Right [APDR] which has of late taken up the case in a separate appeal to the Bangladesh Deputy High Commission made a similar request.

It is learnt that the girl has been kidnapped by a Bangladeshi woman, Saleha, on May 5 last year. According to police sources, Saleha is a member of a girl-running racket active in various parts of the South 24-Parganas. Though police have interrogated some people they have failed to achieve any breakthrough.

The whereabouts of Mitali Thakur would not have come to light unless the deputy jailor of Jessore Central Jail had informed her father about his daughter's plight. Mr Phani Bhushan Debnath, deputy jailor, wrote a letter to Mr Thakur about his daughter languishing in jail. He stated that Mitali had been kidnapped by Saleha. Mr Debnath said that if she was not immediately taken back by her father, she might ultimately land up in the red light areas. On receiving this letter, the parents immediately appealed to the Ministry of External Affairs to ensure the return of their daughter.

According to APDR activists, the biggest problem is that her family is not financially well-off and can hardly meet

the expenses for legal and other steps needed in this regard. When contacted an official of the Bangladesh Deputy High Commission said that the case had already been referred to the Bangladesh Home Ministry. Knowledgeable sources, however, feel that unless the Indian High Commission in Dhaka takes the initiatives, Mitali will never return to her homeland.

Plebiscite Exists

[Commentary by Ajay Sethia: "How Much Right Does Pakistan Have to Kashmir?"]

[Text] Is Pakistan fighting for its own demise? The events of the last decade make one think Pakistan is trying very hard to divert the attention of its citizens from an internal situation of gross inefficiencies. Almost all of the political parties have been stymied by the internal problems. They are so overwhelming that they seem uncontrollable. Whenever there is trouble in any of the provinces, the only escape for Pakistani leaders seems to be hostility towards India.

Even 45 years after partition, the grudge from that time remains like a fresh wound with Pakistanis; whereas, Indians have not retained such bitterness. In border cities of Punjab like Jalandhar, Amritsar, and Firozpur, even today people shed tears of fond remembrances of relatives who have chosen to remain on the other side and have settled to consider them their neighbors. But there, even trying to keep Pakistan one united country seems a task based on enmity with India.

It would seem that in Pakistan the wounds purposely were never allowed to heal. A country founded on religious prejudices and hatred can survive only as long as the nourishment of such hatred remains available. Every ruler of Pakistan has believed thus, and this is why, even after becoming an independent nation, Pakistan never assumed the role and behavior of a good neighbor towards India. Enmity was started knowingly and has been kept up at great costs.

If history's pages could be turned, it can be seen clearly that Pakistan undertook such efforts to make the true line of division itself an item of controversy that it became the basis for a lasting enmity. The seed of this enmity was sown in 1960 when the Sino-Pakistani border agreement was signed. Pakistan declared all of Jammu and Kashmir a portion of Pakistan, and gave a portion of Kashmir to China, with the understanding that this agreement would be renegotiated after settling emergent differences with India. There have been some activities with regard to that also. The Sino-Pakistani Liberation Front and its opponent the Second Liberation Front have already started that. The Pakistani leaders have given their people such a weapon in the name of religion, that they are no longer thinking about their development or anything else.

Well, is their any truth to their claim that Jammu and Kashmir are theirs? Pakistan's only wager is that, if a

plebiscite were to be allowed, the Muslim-majority of Kashmir would opt to go with Pakistan. The plebiscite movement seemed to become the root of all debate. It must be mentioned here that it was India who thought of the possibility of a plebiscite. Later Pakistan raised the question of Kashmir in the UN. It should also be mentioned that Kashmir was presented at the UN as a debatable issue by India, not Pakistan. Even though in the transfer of states the issue of plebiscite does not arise, India still wanted to give the people of Kashmir that privilege. The UN incorporated it in its for 5 January 1949 agenda. By seeking that plebiscite then, India had confirmed the due transfer of estate, but Pakistan finds itself still stuck with the issue of plebiscite. The kind of simple plebiscite sought by Pakistan would have been possible only at the time of Adam.

Making this agreement the basis, the government of [Pakistan] Occupied Kashmir made a petition at a highcourt in Pakistan, to wrest the rest of Jammu and Kashmir from India.

This is when the Pakistani people started to become involved in the issue and each and every government in that enslaved portion of Kashmir has propagandized against India to its people. Since 1991, Occupied Kashmir has made it its mission to cross the actual boundary, and the Kashmir Peoples' Party's Safare-Shahadat [Pilgrimage of the Fatalistic Heroes] was the third in a series of such attempts. India will allow this in Jammu and Kashmir, but first why does Pakistan not free the portion of Kashmir it has occupied? Does Pakistan want a plebiscite only in the portion that has already acceded to India? How is that possible? Pakistan forcefully occupied 30 thousand square miles of Kashmir and is talking of a plebiscite in the rest of that state, which had acceded to India in accordance with international law on 26 October 1947. In 1935 there was a ruling concerning regions that were under the control of royalty, on their accession to India, upon independence from colonial rule. A form was created to be filled up before such transfers. In 1947 with independence and partition of India and Pakistan, the division of estate was executed accordingly. In the "Indian Independence Law 1947," the same rules for transfer were retained. It was proclaimed that those kingdoms which have land in both countries will keep it in mind in acceding to either country. Jammu and Kashmir's King Hari Singh had taken these matters into consideration, and had decided to acced to India on 25 October 1947. After completing formalities, the next day Jammu and Kashmir were legally declared part of India. One of the reasons for his choice of India might very well have been that the bigotted Pakistanis had no specific rules, no belief in true plebiscite, etc., but only the tactic of forceful take-over. Maharajah Hari Singh sought the Indian Army protection with thousands of square miles of Kashmir already thus usurped. Even to this day forceful attacks on Jammu and Kashmir are continuing.

On the one hand it is a legal problem, and on the other it is the problem of Pakistani religious fundamentalism.

Jawahar Lal Nehru had wanted the people of Jammu and Kashmir, not just the land, to feel united with India, and sought a plebiscite for that to happen. There was no such requirement or provision either in transfer of states or under international law. But because our prime minister had allowed it to become our internal business. In 1956, Jammu and Kashmir Constitutional Assembly was created proclaiming the peoples' wishes; this act confirmed the merger. Thus the true plebiscite has already occurred.

Islamic Fundamentalism Seen Threat to Region, Resistance Urged

93AS0839A Calcutta SUNDAY in English 17, 24 Apr, 1 May 93

[Excerpts from INDIAN CONTROVERSIES, written by Arun Shourie; quotation marks as published]

[17 Apr pp 86-93]

[Text] At the heart of every fundamentalism are the millenarian presumptions: that there is one way, and one way alone to the millennium; that that one way has been revealed to us, and to us alone; that should the rest follow it the world shall surely reach the millennium; that therefore it is in the interest of the rest themselves that they should be shown the way and, if necessary, compelled to tread the way. These millenarian presumptions Islamic fundamentalism shares with all other fundamentalisms: "Islam is the solution," is its basic premise, as "National Socialism is the only solution" was that of Nazism, as "Communism is the solution" was that of Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

Its Features

Of course the premise of fundamentalism is not just, "Islam is the solution," but that "the solution is to return to the fundamentals of Islam." There are many variations about what constitute the fundamentals of Islam. These are not just the traditional 'Five pillars of Islam,' for instance. And we cannot expect the enumeration of fundamentals to be the same in Khomeini's Shiite Iran and Wahabi Saudi Arabia or even more generally Sunni Pakistan. But there is a common trait: the focus is on the outward, visible symbols of conformity. Thus, having women don the burqa, the campaign against liquor and tobacco, decreeing Friday instead of Sunday to be the weekly holiday, breaking office work so as to enable everyone to say the namaz these are the hallmarks for which the fundamentalists strive.

Once in power, or once in a position to influence decisions, they require that the traditional law on punishments, on evidence, on inheritance and marriage be re-enacted. They require that Islamic taxes—the zakat, the contribution of a fixed proportion of one's wealth to charity, and the ushr, a levy on the agricultural produce—be levied. There is also the singular concern with abolishing interest. All syncretistic practices—that is, ways which the local version of Islam has adopted from

the time and place are naturally the special targets of these campaigns: as the object is to delineate the identity of Islam more sharply, every practice which fudges the demarcation between it and other faiths is sought to be resolutely stamped out. It is entirely natural therefore that the campaigners in Patna should want to scotch a more humane interpretation of the word *kafir*, that those in Bombay should have a Muslim organization give up plans to hold a workshop jointly with a non-Muslim organization.

Each of these concerns externals, it only tantentially touches the figure of faith that a religion aims to create. In spite of that, the campaigns for the return of the 'fundamentals' in regard to these externals are pursued with the greatest zeal. And for good reason. They establish three things. One, that the fundamentals are what those leading the campaign say they are. Second, that these campaigners have the right, nay, the authority rooted in religion to dictate any and every aspect of life, even those aspects which relate to the purely private existence of an individual, even those which relate to the purely personal relations among individuals: the claim here is the familiar totalitarian claim—that is, the right of the authorities to dictate one's total life, that is, to determine all aspects of one's life. Third, the severity with which the campaign is enforced brings home to everyone that those leading it have the wherewithal to ensure obedience.

To discuss the themes of the fundamentalist campaigns as things that touch only upon the superficial would thus be to miss the point altogether. They may concern the externals of a religion, but they reach to the very heart of power and governance: they settle who shall be obeyed, and on what, they settle who shall obey, and by what devices the former may make the latter obey. They settle what is to be the touchstone: as Islam, in particular Islam as the leaders proclaim it to be, is to be the determinant of which day of the week shall be a holiday, it shall be the determinant also of the position of women, of the position of non-believers in the new state, and so on. In a word, what seem to be the campaigns about peripherals settle both—the possession of power as well as the character of the state.

Further Features

Islamic fundamentalism shares several other features with movements we have known recently, such as Marxism-Leninism.

Like them it places at the centre of things political power, in particular the acquisition of the state. There is similarity, too, in regard to the means by which this is to be gained. The Marxist-Leninists were convinced that they were the agents of history, that they were, as Lenin put it, merely giving history a helping hand. From that followed the conclusion that those who were opposing them—were obstructing the march of history itself towards universal emancipation. And from that followed the conviction that the faithful were justified in using all

means—in particular intimidation, conspiracy, terror, violence—to remove the obstructors. Exactly in the same way the conviction that they are merely executing God's Will leads Islamic fundamentalists to conclude that to be squeamish about using whatever means the situation requires is to be half-hearted about fulfilling Allah's Will.

The premise—that they are merely fulfilling God's mandate—and the inference—that to do so they naturally must use whatever means are required—reinforce each other. As Allah has assigned them the task, whoever opposes them, for instance, cannot be doing so for any good reason, he must be doing so out of an evil disposition, and it therefore becomes a part of the very task which Allah assigned them originally that the person standing in the way be put out of harm's way, by, if necessary, being put out altogether. That person is no longer just a person with a different view: he is a traitor of God's way, he is evil incarnate, and so the faithful are justified in using against him all means necessary.

Now, this line of reasoning has immediate consequences, and not just for the targets of the fundamentalists. As the fundamentalists are ever ready to use every possible device, they are convinced that their opponents too are going to do so. Dread and paranoia are the inevitable consequences—the dread that everyone is conspiring against one, that none will stop at anything to do one in, that therefore one's life—and with that the Allah assigned task—itself is in peril.

This dread—that the others will stoop to anything to do one in—is reinforced by the earlier inference—namely, that the opponents are evil per se. As persons who are evil, they shall naturally not desist from evil devices.

Several consequences follow—and we saw them recently in the course of Khomeini's regime as vividly as we saw them in the regimes of Stalin and Mao. Indeed, as David Pryce-Jones' "The Closed Circle," shows, they stamp the politics of the Middle East as a whole. First, their stern, unruffled countenance notwithstanding, the leaders of these movements verge on paranoia. Every fundamentalist state has accordingly been a police state. Assassinations, purges, coups have been its hallmark, and each of these states has been in perpetual flux. Second, the leader does not just feel justified in adopting all means against his opponents, convinced that they shall stop at nothing, he turns to the extreme devices at the first go, so to say. Disagreements immediately escalate into shouting and abuse and suspicions, and thence into conspiracy and violence. Moreover, non-believers are not the only ones who are in the leader's way—that is, in the way of his doing God's Will. To his eye apostates, renegades, traitors abound within his own ranks too. Hence, the devices are deployed not just against non-believers, but against the leader's own comrades and co-conspirators; in actual fact, as he has more to do with the latter than with the former, they are deployed more frequently against his own than against the others.

The Islamic world, as the communist, therefore abounds in conspiracies and conspiracy theories (to the point that the adversaries have begun to see that this proclivity to believe everything to be the result of conspiracies is something which can be put to good use: see for instance Daniel Pipes', 'Dealing with Middle Eastern Conspiracy Theories,' Orbis, winter 1992). Moreover, in both cases each conspiracy is claimed and for a while believed to be the handiwork of The Great Conspirator: International Capitalism led by the U.S. in the case of communism. The Great Satan—i.e., the U.S., in the case of Islamic fundamentalism. This tracing back of conspiracies to some Great Evil Force serves two vital functions. As the Root Cause, as the Great Satan cannot be overcome for decades, the pattern of governance which the conspiracies have made necessary—the police state, the terror, the purges—naturally have to continue into the indefinite future. Second, the fact that the conspiracies are being master-minded by The Great Satan himself helps explain, if not exculpate, setbacks and defeats. We could have slaughtered Israel, they then say, but what can we do, the damned fellows are being backed by The Great Satan. Our Saddam would have slaughtered the traitors in Saudi Arabia and Egypt and Israel, all together, say his backers, but, poor fellow, what can he do alone against The Great Satan...

The Violent Deed

Nor is it just the case that fundamentalist leaders and movements feel justified in using all possible means. They have great faith in the efficacy of intimidation and force, of terror and violence. This faith too has immediate consequences. The one who deploys these—intimidation, terror, etc.—most diabolically is therefore not despised but admired. The one who takes the most intransigent stand—Arafat, Saddam—is the one who is idolised. The idolisation of intransigence goads the leaders: just as often they harangue in extreme and violent language, just as often they execute acts of terror and gore not to overpower the enemy but to establish their leadership of the faithful, to announce that they are the ones who shall "go all out" to safeguard, or avenge as the case may be, the interests and honour of the community. That extreme rhetoric, that violent deed ties their hands for the future, as it ties the hands of their rivals. Compromise and peace become that much more difficult. The cycle leads the other side to be as intransigent, to put its faith just as much in violence, that is the tragic part.

The farcical is seen in the way Saddam was lifted as the symbol of Islam one week—everyone having chosen to forget how "secular" he had been for years in his murder and terror—and how the faithful did not know where to look the next. Just as often this appropriation of, this identification with the intransigent act, with that symbol of defiance is pathetic. Witness the exultation in the Middle East as the news that Saddam's Scuds had landed in Israel—even the troops from Saudi Arabia and Egypt which were taking part in the assault on Iraq were

reported to have broken into cheers upon hearing broadcasts announcing that yet another Scud had landed in Israel. "At least Saddam has hit Israel," it was said, "no other Arab ruler has been able to do even that much."

What a pathetic admission that was—for while the Scuds were a nuisance, they were no more; to have acclaimed and embraced Saddam for having hurled them any which way, to whatever point in Israel they could reach, was to acknowledge that nothing more than that futile thing could be done. But this embracing the one who makes himself out to be the most intransigent is not all pathos. Just as often the impulse to do something, anything to "avenge the honour" of the community or the faith has murderous consequences for innocents, persons whose only crime is that they just happen to be in the vicinity: as one cannot strike at the enemy, one hits out at some weak, helpless target nearby.

But I do not want to suggest that the faith fundamentalists place in violence and intimidation is all futility. True, in the long run, it foments an alliance against them and invites greater violence. True, even before that consummation it results in a tyrannical and oppressive regime, and therefore an uncreative one at home. But the recent history of communism and the entire history of Islam shows that intimidation and terror and violence enable the fundamentalists to prevail for long: the lightning conquests of Islam in the Middle Ages has had little to do with any intrinsic divinity or truth in Islam as the triumph of communism over half the world had to do with any intrinsic truth in it. In both cases physical force and the technology of terror and violence, and uninhibited zeal to use these are what prevailed: within but a hundred years of the Prophet's death Islamic theologians themselves lamented the fact that the people of the lands which had "embraced Islam"—that is, yielded to its sword—knew not even the rudiments of the religion; this was one of the most powerful incentives, for instance, for codifying the hadiths.

Further Parallels

On the premise that the Revelation is too complex and esoteric for the average adherent to grasp, and the presumption that the movement is surrounded on all sides by conspirators and enemies, Islamic fundamentalism, like Marxism-Leninism, is deeply anti-democratic. Like the latter it envisages a special role for, and therefore reposes overwhelming power in a select minority and its head. The "theoreticians" of Islamic fundamentalism—from Shah Waliullah of Afghani to Maududi to Khomeini—are as unambiguous on this as Lenin or Stalin or Mao. To the credit of Maududi and Khomeini, they did not hide their aversion to democracy and its ways even in the open and pluralist societies. But most others, like most communists who have had to function in pluralist and open societies, have muffled their rhetoric on this matter. As they have, again exactly like the communists, on the rights and position of non-believers in the society they are striving for. But once in power each has trampled the institutions and

ways of democracy under foot, and each has reduced the non-adherents to the status in theory of second-class citizens, in practice to that of deprived and hunted animals. That has been so of course not just in the case of those who themselves claimed themselves to be non-adherents, but just as much in the case of those whom the regime declared to be non-adherents: Trotskyites in Stalin's Russia, Ahmediyas in Pakistan, non-Wahabis in Saudi Arabia, all have been subjected to the same heel.

And as emphatically as Marxism-Leninism, Islamic fundamentalism is internationalist. It scoffs at nationalism, as it does at every identity other than the Islamic one. This it calls its "universalism." "Islam alone among religions treats everyone alike. It recognizes no distinction on the basis of caste, colour, or nationality"—that is how the matter is put. Except that it makes a profound distinction on the basis of religion—between believers and non-believers.

Even so, that means at the least that there is an overarching bond between believers which overrides boundaries of nations, states and the like. For that reason, for instance, it is held to be entirely legitimate for an Islamic organization in a country to receive money or other forms of assistance from abroad—indeed, it is held to be a natural consequence of the faith for it to do so. That again was exactly the case with the Communist Parties and front organizations: for any organization in India to accept money from the U.S. or U.K. was to be a tool of imperialism, but for the Communist Parties to accept it from the U.S.S.R. or China was but an aspect of their internationalism.

The same goes for the donors of course. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran, Libya have been financing fundamentalist groups in countries such as India, Pakistan, Egypt and the like with the same zeal and on the same rationale as the Soviet Union and China were doing so: to export the Revelation in one case, to export the Revolution in the other. And, exactly as happened in the case of the Soviet Union and China, the more oppressive and exploitative the regimes have become at home the more, for instance, the members of the royal households of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have taken to using the country's oil revenues as their private purse, the more they have taken to exporting the Revelation/Revolution.

There is finally, to use the current phrase, The Mother of All Similarities: fundamentalist Islam takes an instrumental view of everything, and everyone: the one, exclusive goal is to mould the world into the Dar-ul-Islam, a world in which peace shall reign and contention have ceased, and this naturally can only happen when everyone has accepted Islam. To bring this about, as we have seen, it does not only permit the believer to use all means, it enjoins on him the duty to do so.

As is the fate of all ideologies that make an instrument of everyone and everything, Islam in the hands of fundamentalists itself becomes an instrument—a means to legitimise the absolute dictatorship of one man and his

clique, to legitimise their brutality, their twists and turns. The fundamentalists wrest rulership on the claim that they are the ones who shall establish a state in accordance with the dictates of Allah. They perpetuate their ruler on the claim that, as everything happens at Allah's Will, power would not have come to them and they would not have been guided to act as they are acting had Allah not willed that to be so. That becomes their sole pillar of legitimacy. They hug it more and more tightly as their regimes become more and more corrupt and oppressive: witness the rising fervour with which Zia espoused Islamic goals as he postponed elections in Pakistan.

But an ideology that has itself become an instrument, a mere means of legitimising rulers and factions is emptied of all meaning—first in the eyes of those using it as a mere instrument, and eventually in the eyes of laity. What meaning was left of Marxism-Leninism after it had been used to justify communization one day and the New Economic Policy the next. Kirov one day and the killing of Kirov the next, the Hitler-Ribbentrop Pact one day and its repudiation the next, the anointing of Lin Piao one day and his extermination the next, the Cultural Revolution one day and its repudiation the next... In exactly the same way, what meaning will be left to Islamic fundamentalism after it has been used by Khomeini to set upon Saddam and the Great Satan, the U.S., and then by Saddam, as the symbol of Islam to combat that same Great Satan, by Saudi Arabia to combat Saddam, by Zia-ul Haq to perpetuate his rule and by his successors to erase it...

As the core of these 'isms' is identical, the nemesis also will be the same.

Its Consequences

Every regime professing itself to be founded on Islam is today a dictatorship—of an individual and his cabal. It is a police state: disappearances, torture, executions mark it. As David Pryce-Jones remarks, governance in these countries remains what Richard Burton had described it to be long, long ago: "Despotism tempered by assassination." Since the death of Zia-ul-Haq, itself a mystery, Pakistan is a bit of an exception—but with the Army being so obviously the arbiter, and with agencies like the ISI [Inter-Service Intelligence] running states within the state, it is not clear how much of an exception it is to the rule and, if an exception, how long it is liable to remain one.

Those of the economies of these countries which are doing well owe their condition almost entirely to the revenues which have fallen into the lap of these regimes since the oil-price hike in 1973. Most of them—certainly those to the East of the Suez—are kept going in no small measure by expatriate labour and skills. A very large proportion of the oil revenues have been squandered by the regimes in buying armaments—and thereby enriching arms manufacturers and dealers in the same hateful West the Islamic fundamentalists inveigh

against. An equally large proportion has been spent by the rulers, and their relatives and associates on the sort of high living which would have been anathema to the Prophet—in this too the regimes have enriched the same hateful West. And a large proportion they are said to have stashed, licitly and otherwise, in banks and havens—thereby again enriching the same hateful West, and also thereby mortgaging their fortunes to that Great Satan and his cohorts. By contrast, but a fraction of the manna has been used by them to help each other, or to alleviate poverty in other Islamic countries.

There is a sense in which adherents of Islam feel part of a transnational community: witness the way millions across countries came to identify with Saddam—even in countries where the governments were equivocal, as in Pakistan, even where they were openly allied with the West, as in Saudi Arabia and Egypt, the people embraced Saddam as news came that his Scuds had landed in Israel. But just as clearly, there are limits to this feeling of oneness. While it has led them to applaud in unison when some object of hatred—in the case mentioned, Israel—was hit by some one—by Sadat for a few days in 1973, by Saddam for fewer still in 1991—it has not enabled Muslims to do anything positive together: for instance, lifting food to the starving in Sudan or elsewhere, or getting help to Muslims blasted by a cyclone in Bangladesh. Similarly, the inter se hostilities among Muslim countries—have set against each other the very efforts which they made to spread the Revelation. Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, for instance, had each been financing and patronising Islamic organizations and groups in Pakistan. As tensions worsened in 1990-91 as a consequence of Iraq's usurpation of Kuwait, and specially once the strike on Iraq commenced, these different groups worked with much energy but at cross purposes in Pakistan. Because the people themselves had been swept off their feet by the symbol Saddam had become, the groups which had been receiving aid from Iraq were naturally the more successful. That in turn became an embarrassment of the first order to the Pakistan government: it could not afford to offend the U.S. or Saudi Arabia. It had eventually to expel some Iraqi diplomats on the charge of fomenting demonstrations, inducing shop-keepers to put up posters of Saddam, etc. (Islamic Fundamentalism and the Gulf Crisis, James Piscatori, editor. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1991, provides many glimpses of the diverse responses of governments, Islamic organizations and the people in Islamic countries). In a word, even short of the fact that adherence to Islam has not kept the countries from going to war with one another, nor, groups within these countries from killing each other, some of the very things which have been done by each country to propagate that sense of transnational identity have disrupted that sense of commonality.

[24 Apr pp 80-86]

[Text]

The Fate of the Groups

Once Islamization has become real, the position of minorities has worsened. The persecution of Kurds—adherents of Islam, of course—in one Islamic country after another—Iran, Turkey, Iraq—is by now well known. Shias in Pakistan have had to take to the streets to stem the Sunni version of Islamic law enveloping them too. The position of Ahmediyas in that country of course is much worse, as they are far fewer and hence more defenceless: they have had to survive the clamour to prohibit them from using Muslim names and from calling their mosques 'mosques'; while applying for a passport they have been required to swear an oath repudiating their allegiance to the founder of their sect, and in effect declaring his claims to have been fraudulent.

Similarly, Islamization has meant a great setback to women in Pakistan. The Muslim Family Law Ordinance of 1961 issued during the time of President Ayub Khan substantially improved upon the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act of 1937. Women's rights in divorce received some protection: the husband seeking to marry another wife was now obliged to obtain the written consent of his first wife, the rights to inheritance by grandchildren were recognised, and so on. The 1973 Constitution prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex. All this has received a setback with Islamization. Medieval conceptions regarding guilt in adultery, punishment, inheritance as well as the weight of evidence have again been enacted into law. Women who have been raped have been pronounced guilty under the new laws. The most notorious case of course was that of a young blind woman who had been working as a maid, and had become pregnant after she was successively raped by a father and his son. The latter two were not punished; the father was discharged for lack of evidence and the son was let go by being given the benefit of doubt. The young blind helpless woman however was sentenced to 15 lashes for having been raped. The pregnancy itself was taken to amount to confession. The verdict was eventually reversed but only because a great storm had ensued. In other cases also while the women who had been raped or were held to be guilty of adultery received—15 to 80—lashes in public, the men were acquitted. The law of evidence was altered so that in most types of cases the evidence given by two women carried the weight of evidence given by one man. Another storm had to ensue and eventually as a compromise this unequal weight was limited to cases involving financial disputes; in regard to other types of cases the matter was left to the judge to decide. Similarly, the Council on Islamic ideology decreed that the money to be received in compensation for the murder of a man shall be twice that for the murder of a woman. The official commission which was appointed to review laws so as to ensure that they were in accord with Islamic tradition recommended that women be disqualified from ever becoming the Head of State, that in their case the minimum age for entering the legislature should be twice that for men, that they should be prohibited from

travelling abroad without a male escort, and so. (On these and related matters see the informative. Islamic reassertion in Pakistan, Anita M. Weiss, editor, VANGUARD, Lahore, 1987.)

Inevitable

Whenever attention is drawn to such facts—about regimes in these countries being nothing but police states, about the conditions in which their economies are, about the conditions to which groups like women and minorities have been reduced—the invariable response is, “But real Islam has not been established in these countries.” That response is little more than a tautology: ‘Real Islam’ is defined as everything beneficent and beautiful and so by definition when that Islam comes to be established everything would naturally be for good, true and just, just as whenever things fall short of being wholly and entirely good, just and true, that is because “Real Islam has not been established in the country.” It is indeed ironic that on the telling of Islamic historians themselves during the 1400 years for which divine guidance—in the form of the Revelation—has been available to rulers, clerics as well as the millions who have embraced Islam, for only 30 years, that is during the reign of the first four Khalifas, has governance at all approximated these ideal conditions. Of course we know as little, in fact even less, about the real condition of the people in those few years than we do about the other distant societies which are idealized, whether that be Athens on the one hand, or the Paris Commune on the other. The other point is even more evident: the laws which have been enacted, in Pakistan for instance under Zia, as well as the laws which have been proposed by either the Council on Islamic Ideology or the Ansari Commission in that country, are in fact wholly in accord with traditional Islamic lore and law. The distinction between believers and non-believers, between men and women, etc., is a part of the corpus itself. And when steps are taken to return to the fundamentals, these inequities cannot but get worsened. Nor would it escape the reader that the defence, “But true Islam has not been established in Pakistan,” is exactly the defence which used to be given about every single communist regime could no longer be denied.

Yet the point to notice is that these results are not fortuitous. They are inevitable and follow from the tenets of the fundamentalist ideology itself.

We noticed, for instance, the deep anti-democracy strain in fundamentalism. This naturally results in a closed, absolutist state in which there is no room for contending opinions, in which dissent of all kinds is stamped under foot as is every attempt to bring facts about the rulers into the open, in which there are no devices—apart from assassinations and coups—for bringing rulers to book. Corruption, cruelty, nepotism fester and grow under absolutist regimes professing Islam as naturally and inevitably as they grow under absolutist regimes professing some other revelation.

The second set of difficulties arises from the fact that while fundamentalists insist, “Everything is in The Book, and what is not in it is useless, if not harmful,” the fact is that when the corpus was frozen the society was a much simpler, in fact a fairly primitive affair. The fundamentalists insist that by looking up The Book or precedents of that time they will get not only the right guidance for administering the affairs of a modern, complex society, they insist that the guidance will be comprehensive and sufficient for the purpose. In actual fact the fundamentalists are themselves forced to dress up, on the one hand, what the regimes would ordinarily be doing by draping Islamic clothes over it, and on the other, the regimes are forced to go through all sorts of contortions so as to legitimise what they cannot avoid doing.

A government levying a tax on non-agricultural wealth today, for instance, would be doing what many governments have done. But in a country professing Islam the measure gets to be shown as something which is taking the country closer to the Kingdom of God. In Pakistan a law was enacted requiring citizens to pay as tax differential proportions of the non-agricultural assets they owned. It was given the name Zakat and proclaimed to be a tax which had been levied to institutionalize one of the Five Pillars of Islam. Similarly, were we ever to get around in India to levying a tax on agricultural produce or income, it would be regarded as being just that. In Pakistan a tax levied on agricultural produce with differential rates for unirrigated and irrigated land was given the name Ushr and said to be again a tax which was a step towards Islamizing the country. The proceeds of these two taxes were set apart for meeting the needs of the indigent. Again, setting a proportion of the budget apart for social welfare objectives—for instance, for feeding the poor, housing the homeless, subsidizing the tuition fees of poor students, etc.—is something which many governments do. Here it was given the hallow of Marxism-Leninism. Nor is this just window-dressing. As has been pointed out by observers, making mandatory what was supposed to be voluntary acts of piety done in a spirit of compassion and surrender robbed them of much of their godliness. Making these an affair of government also meant bureaucratization of what were to be straightforward, transparent acts of charity and fellow feeling. But that is inevitably the result which follows from making religion a thing to be enforced by the state—but that latter is the very objective for which the fundamentalists strive.

The contortions that regimes have to go through are also well illustrated by what Pakistan has had to do while trying to conform with the injunctions of Allah and the Prophet against interest. The banks ‘abolished’ interest. Instead they began to ‘buy’ the goods which the borrower pledged to them as security against the loan, and simultaneously to ‘resell’ those very goods to that very borrower at a higher price. The difference in the ‘buying’ and ‘selling’ prices was of course only ‘profit’ and not ‘interest’. It was just a coincidence that the margin

always corresponded to what the rate of interest would have been had the interest been charged in the normal way! Once again the contortions which the Soviet planners went through to exterminate from their system the same hateful interest provide exact and comic parallels. The 'period of recoupment' and the other subterfuges which were invented so that the scarcity price of capital may be taken into account without using the word 'interest' occupied a prominent place over the decades in books on Soviet planning. They were in those days presented by the apologists and propagandists of Soviet planning as examples of innovation and lateral thinking of those planners. Today they strike us as little self-deceptions.

The difficulties do not end with subterfuges. The strain to which policy makers are put who have to harmonize the current compulsions for controlling population, for instance, with the hadis exhorting the young Muslim male to marry even as the greatest Muslim, the Prophet himself, to multiply the numbers of the faithful, do not have to be imagined.

Creativity Smothered

By insisting that the solution is to return to the fundamentals, that these fundamentals, although conceived at a time when society was so much simpler, contain all that is required, the fundamentalists ensure that, should such a society in fact be established—that is, a society which has been cabined into the straitjacket of these rudimentary fundamentals—it will be uncreative in the extreme. One part of the problem is that, even though some of the injunctions might have been progressive for the times when they were decreed, resurrecting them today certainly entails a regression. For instance, it may have been the case that restricting the number of wives to four was a great advance on the tribal practices as they prevailed 1400 years ago in a nomadic society. But to allow four wives today, to allow the husbands to discard any one or all of them by merely repeating one word thrice, is certainly to consign women, from among the alternatives available today to a life of the greatest possible insecurity and terror. But that is just one set of problems. Creativity is smothered even more by the inevitably authoritarian character of the fundamentalist movement as well as of the state which such a movement spawns.

The basic premise itself of fundamentalism shuts out all examination. Everything that was necessary is said to have been revealed once and forever. The Revelation is said to be complex and esoteric. Only a select few, and these few almost invariably allied to the rulers as they are in Saudi Arabia, are said to have the competence to comprehend the Revelation. The ordinary believer who dares to doubt any part of the corpus becomes by definition an apostate. To listen to him would be a crime. If the non-believer dares to raise a doubt, naturally what he says ought not to be listened to as he is a kafir whose impulse in raising the doubt cannot be anything but the evil predisposition on account of which

he has not embraced the Faith in the first instance. The correspondence between this attitude and the attitude of the communist theoretician-theologians needs no elaboration. Moreover, it is drilled into the laity that, as the religion as well as the state are surrounded by conspiracies on all sides, to question or criticize the ruler or the religion is to open the gates for the enemy. To displace any of the leaders is to leave ourselves leaderless and therefore vulnerable to the enemy. This line too ensures conformity.

The ignorance of the laity only compounds the matter. Having been led to believe that their religion or doctrine is synonymous with everything that is virtuous and beautiful, that the life and teachings of their founder are synonymous with compassion and justice and love, the lay follower just cannot conceive that any honest person could have any doubt about his Faith and lore. He is therefore predisposed to look upon as an enemy anyone who raises a doubt, or who shows up some evidence or fact which does not reinforce the image of his Faith which that follower at that moment believes and would like the world to believe. This is particularly the case as the lay follower has not only been taught to believe that his Faith is in danger. To fortify their leadership the leaders of his Faith and state have instilled the insecurity in his mind. Confronted by an inconvenient fact, confronted by a doubt, therefore the lay follower reacts immediately and violently. Once again, the consequences for creativity, for the out-of-the-way idea are fatal.

In India, since Independence, fundamentalism has had two further features which have compounded the harm to the community. The fate of the Muslim Personal Law illustrates the matter. Even up to the mid-Fifties steps were still being taken to reform and modernize that law. Since then, as is well known, that law has been reformed and further humanized in several Muslim countries. But in India even that extremely slow process of reform has been completely frozen. When attention has been drawn to the changes which have been brought about, for instance, in the law of marriage and divorce, in countries as diverse as Tunisia and Morocco, Turkey and Indonesia or even Ayub's Pakistan, the response has invariably been, "But those are Muslim countries. They can decide to do those things. But India not being a Muslim country cannot legislate these changes." That again exactly conforms to what used to be the standard communist response when attention was drawn to the fact that while they were instigating demonstrations, and go-slows, and strikes in a country such as India, workers in communist states did not have even the right to strike, they had not the slightest security in their jobs, their conditions of work and emoluments were what their employers decreed them to be, when attention was drawn to this contrast the response invariably used to be, "But those are Workers' states. It is perfectly legitimate for them to do these things, because being Workers' states, they will in any case be looking after the workers' interests. As India is not a state of that kind, not only are

these rights inalienable, the struggles must be waged on every front and on every occasion." Regurgitating rationalisations of this kind, the fundamentalists have frozen Muslim Personal Law to what it was 40 years ago. They have frightened lay Muslims into believing that were anything to be done to bring those laws in conformity with the laws and practices of the world as it is today, their very existence itself would be in peril. The poor Muslims have thereby been driven into a ghetto of fear and apprehension.

At the base of that assertion—"but those are Muslim countries"—has been the other one: "Only Muslims can decide issues relating to Muslims." But Muslim opinion has been in the grip of two sorts: politicians who have concluded that to be leaders of their community they must don fundamentalist clothes and keep the lay Muslim in a state of trepidation; and the controllers and products of the theological seminaries at Deoband, Saharanpur, Lucknow, etc.—the syllabus of these latter, if nothing else, has kept them frozen in the middle ages.

There are liberals of course among Muslims as there are among other communities. Not only are they few, they have chosen to remain isolated. Barring a very small number, they have desisted from joining hands with reformers from other communities. In fact, they have been urging reformers from other communities not to address Islamic issues. "How are we to answer the fundamentalists' accusation, 'you are saying the same thing as that enemy of Islam?'" In the event, reform, instead of becoming the common endeavour of citizens of all communities, is stalled. The Muslim reformers remain few, and are successively set upon by politicians and clerics. The ordinary Muslim as a result remains in the ghetto of fear and apprehension.

The final consequence of fundamentalism, of course, is that it foments and justifies fundamentalism in others. Bhindranwale in Punjab, the terrorists in Kashmir, as well as those who secured 'victories' for Islam in India in the last decade, have fomented fundamentalism among the Hindus.

Dealing With It

Putting the mystic experience at the centre of things, will go a long way in dissipating fundamentalisms. But in the Islamic case doing so can only be a beginning. For, as we have seen, the accounts of the life of the Prophet and the content of and affirmations about the Quran are only enabling circumstances: they are things which just enable the fundamentalist to ram his absolutist, evangelical programme. The fundamentalist movement is, and the appeal of that movement is essentially political. So, many things have to be done in that realm also.

The surest cure of course would be to help Islamic fundamentalists establish Islamic states: nothing so conclusively proved the case against those other fundamentalisms—Nazism and Communism—as the states that were founded on them; in fact these states closed the argument about those fundamentalisms. But that would

be a very costly route. It will spell unspeakable torment for the millions. And in these times, when the technology of violence has become so horrendous and so easily transferable, the establishment of such regimes will also spell death and suffering to millions outside the boundaries of these states. In a word: such movements should as far as possible be dissipated before they acquire states, but, if they do acquire a state, that state should be quarantined till there is evidence that this regime is going to be the exception—that, unlike every single fundamentalist regime is going to be the exception—that, unlike every single fundamentalist regime which has come and gone, this one is going to be a humane one.

To prevent fundamentalist movements from acquiring states the best prophylactic is good governance. The corruption and venality and the cruelty of the Shah's regime turned the people to Khomeini, just as the subsequent loot by and heartlessness of the party which had once led the fight for freedom in Algeria has turned the people of that country to the Islamic Salvation Front. Soon enough such regimes open the eyes of the people, as Khomeini's did in Iran, but by then it was too late. By then the regime is so totally in control of the apparatus of violence and terror, and it is so uninhibited in using it, that the people can do nothing but try to survive it, by lying low, by going along, by telling on their friends and relatives.

It is just as necessary to reach information to the people in a country such as India about the record of such regimes.

Our Urdu press, for instance, systematically plays down the corruption of the rulers of Saudi Arabia, of Pakistan and the like. It shuts out information both about the numerous ways in which so many of these countries—Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, etc.—have found it necessary to amend and on many matters replace the Shariat—the very Islamic law which, it is forever proclaiming is eternal and to change which in the slightest is to endanger Islam itself. Simultaneously it shuts out information about the new laws which have been passed in a country such as Pakistan to bring affairs in line with Shariat and what a retrogression they have meant for large groups—for instance for women, and for minorities from Shias to Ahmediyas. It does not inform its readers about mosques which have been demolished time and again in Middle Eastern countries for all sorts of purposes. It does not tell them that in Saudi Arabia the government has tombs of Companions of the Prophet himself. It does not tell them that while the Tablighi Jamaat has full freedom to preach the message of Islam throughout India, that while its work has won the admiration of many here, the Jamaat is debarred from Saudi Arabia. This shutting out must be compensated for by providing information on these matters through other avenues. Similarly, we should provide detailed data about the true state of affairs in countries which have taken the fundamentalist route—how every single one of them is an absolutist dictatorship and what the dictators there are doing. In a word, instead of wailing against

Shahabuddin's Muslim India, and its legitimising fundamentalism, we should have Muslim World, which gives the true picture of the state of governance and the people in countries which have set up Islamic regimes.

And we must show how the state to which affairs in these countries has been reduced is not fortuitous, how fundamentalism inevitable stamps out creativity—by insisting for instance, that every word in The Book—the Quran today, Lenin yesterday—is true and eternally so, and everything not in The Book is unnecessary and worse; how fundamentalism, and its inevitable result absolutism, do so doubly by engendering a rigidly hierarchical and authoritarian set-up.

Information about the state of affairs nearer home also should be made available in systematic form. Two things in particular need to be documented in detail. The first of these is the fall-out of fundamentalist politics in the last few years. Many Sikhs were carried away by Bhindranwale and his band. What has been the consequence, in particular for the Sikhs? Many Muslims were elated by the 'victories' Shahabuddin and others brought them—by having the Supreme Court judgment on Shah Bano overturned, by having Rushdie's book banned. How do those victories look now—in the light, that is, of the reaction they have ignited among the Hindus? The second thing to document is the social practise of those who exploit religion for politics, who set themselves up as the sole-spokesmen and protectors of religious communities. The cleansing of Hinduism was greatly assisted by the exposure of the kinds of lives the mahants were leading, of the way temples and their assets were being used. Documenting the alliances and associations of politicians and controllers of sacred places of other religions, documenting the mismanagement of Waqf Boards for instance, documenting what those who speak loudest in the name of religion have done to, say, the Aligarh Muslim University or are doing to the Jamia, will be just as liberating.

It is vital that such information—about the conditions in Islamic countries, about what consequences fundamentalist politics has brought down upon the Sikhs and is beginning to bring down upon the Muslims—be made available to the average Muslim. It is just as important that it be reached to and be enabled to gain currency in the theological seminaries of Deoband, Sahranpūr, Lucknow. The products of these seminaries have an enormous role in forming Muslim opinion. But their syllabi—by choice and conscious decision—have been frozen at what was conceived seventy five, even hundred years ago. Not a ray of knowledge about what the actual results of Islamic rule have been in the Middle East and Pakistan and even an iota of information about the developments in science and technology, to say nothing of social sciences and history, has been allowed to filter into these syllabi. Yet the graduates of their institutions and their publications determine what is talked of, what is internalised in madrasas, in mosques. A special effort therefore must be made to get the information to these institutions.

[1 May 93 pp 80-83]

[Text] One of the appeals of the fundamentalist doctrine is that it will give the adherents of a faith—sickened and made insecure by squabbles among themselves—an over-arching identity, an identity that will subsume their differences, one that will lift them above these squabbles and weld them into a mighty host.

It is necessary, therefore, to acquaint them with facts on this score also. Far from uniting the adherents, recourse to fundamentalism will result in—as it invariably has resulted in—a perpetual hunt for the impure, for the lax, for the renegades, for persons and groups who are in league with or, to recall the Leninist phrase, 'objectively' in league with the enemy—that is, for persons and groups who, though not allied to the enemy, are doing things which, 'objectively assessed', are helping the enemy, and this latter it turns out means everything short of full-throated acclamation of whatever the fundamentalist leader is doing! Far from uniting, that is, fundamentalism splinters adherents.

One Islamic regime after another in the Middle East has been at daggers drawn with its neighbour. Within each Islamic regime purges and assassinations and coups have been no less than they were in, say, that other fundamentalism which was to provide an over-arching identity—that is, communism. Our neighbour, Pakistan, provides a ready example. It was founded on the premise that the Muslims are a separate—that is, one—nation. It declared itself to be an Islamic state in 1962. Did that prevent the West Pakistanis from butchering the East Pakistanis? It proclaimed Islam to be the state religion in 1973. The Constitution prescribed that the state shall help Muslims to live in accordance with the fundamental principles of Islam, that Quranic instruction shall be compulsory for all Muslims. Shariat courts have been set up, as also an over-arching council of Islamic ideology. Laws and judgments are being reviewed on the touchstone of Islam. Islamic taxes have been introduced. In a word, Islamisation has been the leitmotif for almost two decades now. Does that today keep the Punjabis and Mohajirs and Sindhis from killing each other off?

These murderous rivalries apart, even the polemics between the regimes, between sects and ethnic groups will be an eye-opener. As is invariably the case in 'isms' which trace their legitimacy to some book or founder, each rival uses the same texts, cites precedents from the same history, hurls the same 'concepts' and categories at all the others. We saw this in the debates which ensued between the Soviet and the Chinese communists parties after 1960, and as a consequence between different brands of communists and Marxist-Leninists in India. Reading these accusations and constructions, the lay follower gets an opportunity to assess whether the texts are as solid as he has been led to believe they are, to assess whether concepts and categories which he has internalised have any meaning at all. The resulting knowledge cannot but be a liberating solvent.

Such information will be useful not just to Muslims, it will, as I have suggested earlier in this book, help in another way: it will dissipate the phobia Hindus have of Muslims. The Hindus fear the Muslims, thinking them to be one granite block which is going to roll down the hill and crush Hindus. When they see that Islamic regimes are at each others' throats, that within Islamic countries Muslims are as much at each other as we are, say in India, their fears will abate.

A country like Israel, of course, has not been just studying these animosities and disseminating information about them. Made a target of by regimes invoking Islam and the like, it has exploited such animosities for its security. It has established working relationships with factions in every country which is instigating or financing fundamentalist groups. Its example also shows that being a non-Muslim country makes establishing relations with factions in such countries a bit difficult—but only a bit. The inter-se animosities between the factions are so intense—compounded as normal power rivalries are in their case by the claim, and in many cases the belief, of each faction that it is doing Allah's work and the other is obstructing that God-ordained work—so intense are these rivalries that the factions eventually establish working relations with whomsoever, Muslim or non-Muslim, they think can help them do in their immediate enemy.

Even if we cannot on our own establish working relations with groups and factions in countries which fan or finance fundamentalist groups here, we must collaborate with other countries which are facing a threat from Islamic fundamentalism. We have so much to learn from them—even in mere scholarship: the work which scholars in these countries have done on the Quran, on Islamic history, the knowledge they have garnered about political movements and groups in Islamic countries will give us a head start. But to be taken seriously in this venture, we have, at the very least, to be consistent. We cannot—as our then foreign minister did—laud Saddam Hussein as being one of the greatest statesmen of the world, we cannot confer the award for promoting international understanding on Yasser Arafat, we cannot kow-tow to fundamentalists at home on Shah Bano one day, on Rushdie the next and expect France or Israel, Russia or China to take us seriously when we tell them that we want to join them in stemming Islamic fundamentalism.

Prerequisites

But to do any of this we have first to clear up our minds and practise here at home.

We must look fundamentalism in the eye. Ever so often we fawn and cringe before a religious leader because of his age or supposed scholarship. Do we take care before doing so to examine what he has been preaching and teaching? How would we regard a person in whose view "A religious order cannot be established unless religion

comes to wield political power and the system of governance is based on Islamic foundations?" Who commends Iqbal's "lofty idealism" and mature outlook which, he says, "lay at the base of the demand for Pakistan?" In whose view the Hindu, Greek, Roman, and pre-Islamic Arab civilisations are all now "no better than ancient monuments?" Who has little but scorn for "modernists of the Middle East"—from Atatürk to Nasser—and whose counsel to the King of Saudi Arabia is to hold fast to the ways of orthodox Islam? Who is on that King's Rabitah al-Alam al-Islami, the organisation which determines which Islamic organisation will get what part of the Saudi funds for spreading Islamic orthodoxy? But those are the views of the person everyone honours: Abdul Hasan Ali Nadwi, the Rector of the Nadwat-ul-Ulama's Dar-ul-Ulum at Lucknow. (And I have just picked a few sentences from the thumbnail sketch given in the book most at hand: M.S. Agwani's informative, *Islamic Fundamentalism in India*. Twenty First Century India Society, New Delhi, 1986, pp. 29-39.) He is much sought after by politicians of all hues, he is the president of the Muslim Personal Law Board. He seldom speaks in public. But because of the deference everyone shows him, his influence is pervasive. Shahabuddin, etc., are just foot soldiers compared to him. And Ali Mian, as he is known, is much more circumspect in what he says, perhaps even in the views he holds than so many others whom we defer to because of their age, "their standing in the community," because of the positions—in this instance, the headship of a theological seminary—they occupy. Surely, we would make it a point to study the books and speeches of persons before we laud them and turn to them to help sort out our problems.

Even such small things will go a long way. But naturally they are ancillary to the three basic things which need to be done, and to which attention has been drawn throughout this book.

The first of these is to purge our discourse, our way of looking at things of double-standards. Nothing has inflamed Hindu reaction as the way our pressmen and our politicians have been bending backwards to pander to the fundamentalists of other religions.

Nor has anything taught the Hindus that they too must bend the state and strain at the courts as the success that fundamentalist Muslim politicians have had in doing each of these things. Other than disseminating information, therefore, the one way to thwart fundamentalism is to have a fair and firm state: a state that does not allow the adherents or organisations of one religion to do what it does not allow those of another religion to do, a state that does not allow an organisation wearing a religious garb to do what it does not allow a secular organisation to do, a state which enforces secular laws—from those regarding putting up loudspeakers to those regarding possession and storage of arms—strictly, a state which puts the requirements of peace and law and order always above contrivances like processions, etc., in the name of religion, a state which gives absolutely no quarter to

anyone who takes to the gun. Bending to one side to win votes because those who sway the opinion of that group have frightened the group that it is in danger or have cajoled its members into believing that by casting their votes en bloc one way they will secure special concessions, only impels others—in this case the Hindus—to organise themselves into a vote bank. Overturning judgments of the Supreme Court on the apprehension—to put the matter at the highest—that not doing so will cause the Muslims to go on a rampage only impels others—the Hindus—to work to create the same prospect when they find a judgment standing in their way. To compel the Archaeological Survey of India to condone the forced entry into and use of protected monuments by Muslim propagandists who assert that they must say their Friday prayers in these monuments and in these alone, is to impel Hindus to brush aside the argument that the Babri Masjid is a protected monument under the jurisdiction of the same Archaeological Survey of India and must therefore be left alone. Should the state bend to the terrorists in Punjab and Kashmir, I have not the slightest doubt that Hindus will conclude that they must rear terrorists of their own.

Finally, as Islamic fundamentalism is not just about acquiring states but about power—the faith in intimidation and force—it can be stemmed only by thwarting might. It is because of Islam's faith in power that Muslims the world over identified with Saddam Hussein. When the U.S.-led alliance was preparing to confront him many a commentator warned, "the entire Islamic world will rise as one man" to defeat the alliance. But that symbol of the power of Islam, of defiance crumbled. True, in the first wave, Saddam's defeat intensified bitterness against the West, against the U.S. in particular. The self-pity into which Muslims were plunged may also in a sense have sharpened their sense of fellow-feeling, their sense of identity. But repeated failures will in the end lead even the least reflective to re-examine the premises.

In brief, information is the surest solvent, a fair and firm state is the one dyke, but the determination and wherewithal to turn back the physical might which fundamentalists muster is the ultimate defence against fundamentalism.

Infiltration Seen Widespread, Threat to Internal Security

93AS0836E New Delhi ORGANISER in English
2 May 93 p 6

[Article by M.V. Kamath: "The Menace of Infiltrators"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Infiltration of Bangladeshis into India has reached menacing proportions and the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] has demanded a White Paper from the government on the subject. The Government has so far remained silent.

There are reports that as many as 15 million Bangladeshis have infiltrated into India. According to the BJP, two lakh infiltrators cross over to West Bengal annually and intelligence reports have been quoted as saying that about 7,000 fundamentalist cadres of the Jamaat-e-Islami have taken shelter in places of worship in the Indian countryside.

What is lacking are authentic figures. In the absence of such figures rumours get free play. And that is good neither for the people nor the government. The Government cannot pretend to be coy and unaware of the situation in India's North-East. If the present infiltration continues one day or the other there is going to be an explosion. The issue of infiltration has to be faced right now—and in right earnest.

Before the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971 the migration of Bangladeshis to India was mostly of Hindus for socio-political and religious reasons. But since 1979 there has been a drastic change in the migration pattern. More and more Muslims have been entering India unauthorisedly. It is stated that in 1990, as many as 56,580 Bangladeshis entered India illegally, of whom 38,611 were Muslims. Similarly, in 1991 of the 1,03,877 [as published] Bangladeshis who entered India, 58,290 were Muslims.

The Hindus are coming because of religious persecution and fear. Following the demolition of the Babri 'masjid' there was widespread looting and terrorisation in Bangladesh aimed at Hindus. One Bangladeshi newspaper described it as "medieval barbarity." According to Chandan Nandy writing in THE OBSERVER (30 January, 1993) "thousands of Hindu houses were looted and burnt down." No fewer than 2,000 temples including some Buddhist monasteries were apparently attacked, looted, destroyed or desecrated. THE OBSERVER quoted one Bangladeshi MP [Member of Parliament] as saying that "3,000 temples were destroyed or damaged by Muslim mobs." Clearly life for Hindus has become unliveable in the country of their birth. They have become refugees.

Bangladesh is an Islamic country and says so clearly. It is its duty to take care of its Muslim citizens. And they have no right to migrate to India and India is not bound to take any Muslims. In the first place the influx of Muslims is causing severe demographic disturbances in the border districts along Bangladesh and Bihar. In Islampur sub-division of West Dinajpur district (according to Dr. B.P. Saha, writing in THE HITAVADA, 9 April, the minority Muslim population has now risen to 60 per cent, in Malda to 54 per cent, in Murshidabad to 52 per cent, in Nadia to 48 per cent and in the border belt of North and South 24-Paraganas to 56 per cent. This is attributed directly to the infiltration of Bangladeshi Muslims into these districts and their tacit acceptance by West Bengal officials.

Presently, they form the vote-banks of the communists; the Congress-I politicians also are reportedly turning a

blind eye to the infiltration in the hope of building their own vote-banks. The net loser is India.

A debate in the Bihar Legislative Assembly revealed that about 1.8 million Hindi-speaking Bangladeshis have infiltrated into 12 districts of the State. The term "Hindi-speaking Bangladeshis" is clearly a reference to those Muslim Biharis who went to what was then East Pakistan in the aftermath of Partition in search of their Islamic paradise. When Bangladesh was formed the Biharis found themselves in an anomalous position. They became the unwanted people. The true Bangladeshis did not want them. Neither did west Pakistan. These Biharis found themselves herded into camps, living a miserable life on doles. It is clear that these people are now being driven out of Bangladesh and into India. In nine blocks of Kishanganj district close to the border with Bangladesh approximately 1,40,000 persons are known to have entered clandestinely and living freely. Right in Delhi more than one lakh of Bengali-speaking infiltrators are known to live in the slum areas of Greater Kailash, Jahangirpuri and trans-Jamuna areas. They are the guaranteed vote banks of the Congress(I).

It has been claimed that some one lakh Bangladeshis are to be found in Bombay. In the absence of any reliable figures it is possible that there is an exaggeration in the number of Bangladeshis living undetected in Bombay but the point is that their presence is not a myth. Fears are being expressed that they may form stooges of anti-Indian forces from across the border. After the 12 March Bombay blasts and the discovery, subsequently, of RDX, Kalashnikov guns, etc., the fears are increasing. No government policy exists or is under operation. Politicians turn a blind eye to the presence of aliens. When an attempt was made in Delhi to deport a couple of hundred Bangladeshis, the so-called 'intellectuals' in the city raised a hue and cry against it, on humanitarian grounds. Slums turn out to be the hot-bed of communalism and when riots occur, these very same 'intellectuals' will turn round and accuse the BJP of communalism, and anti-Islamic sentiments, and rousing of anti-Muslim feelings.

Muslim Bangladeshis have to be asked to return to their country and if they do not return voluntarily, they must be forcibly evicted. India is not a dumping ground for the unwanted in Bangladesh. Bangladesh has no compunction in throwing out refugees—all of them Muslims—from the Arakans in Burma. In such matters, religious affiliation does not count. The Arakan refugees were forced to leave Bangladesh under such inhuman conditions that even a U.N. agency was forced to protest.

India takes such matters too lightly. But the creeping Islamisation of Indian districts bordering on Bangladesh is going to create trouble for India, sooner or later. It will be increasingly difficult there to establish law and order.

The BJP is entirely right in demanding a White Paper on the subject of infiltration, if the government will not

issue such a Paper, then the BJP should, in order to enlighten Indian citizens of the nature of the problem. Let an impartial body inquire into the demographic situation in Assam, West Bengal and Bihar to start with, so that the country knows the truth about infiltration.

The people of Assam have for all practical purposes given up the struggle against aliens thanks to Delhi's indifference. But should the rest of India be blind to the Congress-I government's monumental folly?

Threat From China's Nuclear, Missile Programs Analyzed

93AS0887B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 19 May 93
p 4

[Article by Uday Narayan Singh: "China's Nuclear Readiness and India"]

[Text] It appears that in its effort to increase trade, cultural, and friendly relations with China, India is not paying much attention to China's nuclear preparation. How China views the two large countries in South Asia—India and Pakistan—is made clear by Li Peng's speech given on 15 March in Beijing at the Eighth National People's Congress Meeting. He said, "There has been significant improvement in China's relations with India; however, our traditional friendship with Pakistan, Bangladesh, and other South Asian nations has been strengthened." This clearly shows that China considers Pakistan a more trusted friend than it does India. Pakistan is on the brink of being labeled a terrorist nation. Recently, some shocking facts about China's nuclear activities were brought to light in a study. Therefore, India should always be careful about China. The study indicates that China has installed at least three nuclear reactors in Tibet's mountain regions, and that it has also dumped radioactive waste in this region. Dumping nuclear wastes and making a nuclear station in Tibet is not only dangerous to India's defense and unity, but also poses a serious danger to the environmental cleanliness of northern India.

In 1950, after forcibly annexing Tibet, China started to exploit all of the natural resources there, and started its nuclear program there in 1960. It has established more than ten major military bases in Tibet, and has established missile bases with ranges of 600, 1,500, and 2,000 miles. Only recently, the military command situated in the southwest region was transferred to Chengdu, capital of the Szechwan province, just ten kilometers south of Lhasa. The main purpose of this step was to increase the guard of the India-Tibet border. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, China is making major plans to establish itself as a superpower. It increased its defense expenses significantly last year. The main purpose of this was to test its mid-range missiles. Last year, in December, it exploded its largest nuclear bomb, resulting in an earthquake-like atmosphere in Hong Kong and Macao. It has been learned that a few months ago, China supplied Pakistan with two dozen M-11 missiles. These

missiles are capable of carrying nuclear weapons. This friendship between China and Pakistan is a cause for concern for India.

According to a human rights report published in Washington, just outside of Tibet's capital of Lhasa is the largest store of uranium in the world. The people living around there are suffering from nuclear-related sicknesses. Chinese scientists are designing all kinds of nuclear weapons in the small town of Heibeih in the Shanghai province of western China, famous now as the ninth academy. At this very place nuclear weapons are developed, manufactured, and tested. We have learned that the children there are suffering from a kind of cancer that was prevalent in Hiroshima after the atomic bomb was dropped there in 1945. Last year, on 20 December, when Russian President Boris Yeltsin visited China, both countries signed 24 different agreements. One agreement was about cooperation in the development of nuclear weapons in order to maintain a balance of availability of such weapons in this region and in the world. China's largest nuclear center is in Sibian in northeastern China; however, the Tibetan people are becoming more and more angry at China because of the nuclear programs being carried out in the hilly region of Tibet.

The most serious aspect of China's nuclear program and its implementation is the Chinese leaders' friendship with the Pakistan Government. A direct and immediate effect of this friendship is the threat to India's defense and existence. If China's leaders and the government sincerely wish to improve friendly relations with India, they should not be involved in any kind of activity that might have a negative effect on its friendship with India. However, it seems that Chinese rulers are purposefully ignoring this extremely sensitive side, and the Indian government must adopt a strict attitude toward it. China is going to transfer its missile technology to Pakistan. We have been told that talks about selling M-9 or M-11 ballistic missiles to Pakistan are being held; these missiles have been manufactured since 1987-88. It was confirmed in 1989 that MATF-2 missiles, which have a surface-to-surface range of 400 kilometers, will be developed in Pakistan. In 1990, the United States stated that China was considering selling Theater ballistic missiles to China, and the first installment of this deal was finished in 1991. According to U.S. intelligence reporters, China has supplied Pakistan with at least one dozen M-11 missiles. The way China has busied itself with military and nuclear preparations for over a decade is not only a cause of concern for Asia, but for countries all over the world. China emerged as the world's third largest supplier of weapons to developing countries in 1992, and it sold weapons worth \$26 billion to these countries. In addition to Pakistan, it supplied \$1.4 million in weapons to Myanmar. These weapons included radar, anti-aircraft guns, fighter planes, tanks, and air-to-air missiles. China is planning to make its presence felt in the Indian Ocean through Myanmar. To this end, it is planning to establish a naval base on the

delta of the Iravadi River. This delta is very close to the Andaman Islands. General Cho Nam Kavi of China said in a recent confidential report, "We are not willing to leave the Indian Ocean to be an Indian ocean." China has increased its military power dramatically, and its armed forces, which numbered only 190,000 in the eighties, have increased to 300,000 this year. They are expected to rise to 500,000 by 1995. We can easily understand to what end China is involved in such military preparation when the world is involved in activities for establishing peace and cooperation after the end of the Cold War. The way China is involved in increasing its military and nuclear capability with such definite plans is not only endangering the autonomy of India and its neighboring countries, but is also a serious threat to world peace. We have already paid the price of China's unfriendly work under the guise of friendship by sacrificing thousands of square kilometers of land to it. We should not repeat this experience. Even though India has no nuclear plans for military purposes and has not received any international help in making nuclear weapons, we must review our nuclear policy in light of the nuclear programs being carried out by China and Pakistan.

Retention of Siachen Glacier For National Security Advised

93AS0907A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 5 Jun 93
p 4

[Article by Mahesh Kumar Singh: "It Would Be Fatal For India to Give Up Siachen"]

[Text] The question of India's defense is directly related to Siachen. Siachen Glacier is very important for India from a geographic and defense perspective, because it is connected to the 4,500 square kilometers of the Kashmir region that Pakistan illegally gave to China in 1963. The Siachen region, which is considered the third polar region, is not a warlike place at all. But because of its importance from a defense perspective, it has become politically very important for India and Pakistan. This is the highest place in Jammu-Kashmir. It is five to six thousand meters above sea level and is extremely difficult to access. The Siachen Glacier is 76.5 kilometers long and 208 kilometers wide and has a summer temperature of -15 to -10 degrees centigrade. During the winter, its temperature is -55 degrees centigrade or below. There are 180 "blind" days. All the passes and nearby glaciers are covered with thick layers of snow. In the north of Laddakh's capital of Leh, and close to this glacier, is the Korakoram Highway. This is the highway that China and Pakistan constructed jointly. Siachen Glacier starts at Indira Kol. South of the Indira Kol in Siachen is the "Indira Peak Sia Kangri." This peak is very important, because it provides easy access to Afghanistan, Russia, China, Turkey, Tibet, and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. There are many small and large frozen rivers which start from Nubra and lead to Mount K-2.

The great benefit to India from its presence here is that its soldiers are stationed at important heights, while Pakistani soldiers are thousands of feet below them. In a mountain war, the armed forces at lower levels are always at a disadvantage. In addition to this obvious military advantage, three major passes—Sia, Bilafond, and Chungung—are controlled by the Indian armed forces. This has put India in a strong military position, and it is difficult for Pakistan's army to walk up to the higher plateaus. That is why the Pakistani army and its military rulers are claiming to have taken over such positions. In spite of the bitter cold and extremely dangerous conditions, our brave soldiers are guarding this barren and icy region with full alertness. There are deep chasms in this region, and temperature falls below -200 degrees centigrade. The temperature on the surface of the glacier is -50 to -40 degrees centigrade. Avalanches are a common occurrence in this region. The tremors caused by cannon firings, helicopter flights, and even pistol shots, cause avalanches, and soldiers are often buried alive there.

The importance of the region for India's defense can also be judged from a historical perspective. The famous silk route from central Turkistan's Sinkiang region to Leh passes nearby. This is the route through which the Buddhist religion first spread in China and other regions, through Chinese Turkistan. The caravans of traders from Laddakh and Chinese Turkistan always travel this route. Many items manufactured in India and raw materials also traveled this route. Among these, salt was very important; it was in high demand in Tibet and central Asia. The Chinese traveler Fah Hsien traveled this route when he came to India and studied in Patliputra. This is the same route through which the great British scholar Sir R.L. Stein traveled and later translated the Rajatarn-garni into English. Later, he traveled to central Asia in search of Buddhist temples. Since then, this region has always been considered a battleground. During the British rule in India, fear of Russians invading Kashmir and India was always prevalent. The fact is that the highest peak in Laddakh was called the confluence of five empires: British, Russian, Chinese, Afghan, and Tibetan. Today, it is the meeting place of Russia, China, India, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. The Korakoram Highway connects China with Pakistan.

Most of the Indian peaks and glaciers are located in the northern Himalayas. These plateaus, which become part of Central Asia, the Pamirs, and the Korakoram, have beautiful valleys below them. The Nubra Valley is one of them. It is across the 75 kilometer long and two kilometer wide Siachen Glacier. It is the source of the Shyok River, which later merges with the Sindh River. At one time this valley was wide and snow-covered; however, after Pakistan's occupation of Gilgit and Hunza in 1947-48, this valley became very important from a defense perspective. After India's takeover of Kargil in 1948, our military established control of one gate to Laddakh. Later, the Pakistani army took the path ahead of Hunza and tried to strengthen their position in the

Nubra Valley. When China attacked India in 1962, India established many posts, including one on Chushul, on the Tibetan border. Pakistan, which was present on the other bank of the Shyok River, also strengthened its position. In addition, it has been trying to expand its posts in this region since then.

The Siachen region could not be surveyed, even after three wars between India and Pakistan since 1947. After the Pakistani attack on Kashmir in 1928, the cease-fire line that was agreed upon was around this glacier, and it is monitored by the United Nations. Pakistan is still occupying one third of this region, and has claims on the remaining two thirds.

In the Karachi Pact of 1949, this cease-fire line was established formally. According to this agreement, both countries would establish cease-fire lines on N-J grid-point 9042, near a place called Thang. In this agreement, it was written that whenever necessary, this line would be moved to the north. Problems started, however, when Pakistan began its friendship with China and gave a 4,500 square kilometer area to it illegally. Secondly, in this glacier region, Pakistan has permitted mountain climbing since 1972. Pakistan has broken the Simla Agreement many times since 1972, both in the grind point line where the actual control line was to be established and also in the region northwest to it.

In this context, India decided to send its armed forces to this region according to a plan. This way, the first campaign began in 1978, the second in 1980, and the third in 1981. Pakistan, in response to this campaign, sent a major international mountaineering group in 1984. During this period, India established several major international posts to stop interference from 1983 to 1984. India sent military helicopters to this region to stop interference and established many military posts in 1984.

In order to stop Pakistani aggression, there was a major confrontation with the Pakistani military on 23 June 1984, when India started Operation Meghdut. This region, which was important for defense reasons, suddenly became a question of prestige for both nations, and both spent about 150 million rupees on it. They lost hundreds of soldiers in various skirmishes. Ninety percent of these deaths were caused not by bullets, but by dangerous weather conditions. Between 1983 and 1985, India and Pakistan held six talks about Siachen. Pakistan demanded that India go back to its pre-1971 Bangladesh War position, and India totally rejected this demand. It should be known that in the 1972 Simla Agreement, the control line on the Siachen Glacier was not decided on. In addition, the Siachen Glacier and regions around it were declared unfit for living. Therefore, the 1949 India-Pakistan cease-fire line was not extended to this region. The region was ignored even in the 1972 Simla Agreement.

In order to foil Pakistani attempts, India established anti-aircraft guns, missiles, 155 mm Bofors Howitzer

guns, and 130 mm guns. Meanwhile, Pakistani soldiers are using rifles, machine guns, anti-tank missiles, rocket launchers, and cannons in this region. Several battalions of the Pakistani army are stationed there, and their goal is to take over the Sia and Baria passes. The Pakistani army made several attempts to attain this goal. There is no special importance to Siachen in itself; however, if we look at it against the Kashmir background, it is especially important in the context of the China-Pakistan friendship. After the inauguration of the Korakoram Highway, which connected Pakistan-occupied Kashmir with Sinkiang in June 1978, the situation has become very critical.

According to the Simla Agreement, the cease-fire line was changed to the real control line, and later, the aforementioned grid point was also identified. It is unfortunate that the borderline after this point was not marked, even though it was agreed that this line would be to the north. The present argument started over this flaw, and Pakistan and its maps claim something contrary to the facts. Pakistan does not want to move this line to the north of grid point 9842, and it wants to use this approach to come closer to the Chinese border. It is claiming a major area in the Siachen Glacier for this reason.

This way, the real control line can be to the northwest of the grid point. It is impossible for India to accept Pakistan's claim. India cannot give up its control of Siachen. Doubts about the ownership of this region were raised because of its military importance. Therefore, it is appropriate to believe that the problem is not related to Siachen; it is related to Kashmir. If a solution is found to the problem of occupied Kashmir and the region that Pakistan gave to China illegally, then the problem of Siachen would be resolved by itself.

Pakistan Possibly Involved in Bombay Murders
BK0906092393 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
3 Jun 93 p 8

[Editorial: "The Bombay Murders"]

[Text] The cold-blooded murders of two well-known public figures of Bombay within three days have confronted the city police with a major challenge. While Ramesh More, a Shiv Sena MLC [member of legislative council], was gunned down last Saturday just outside his residence in the western suburb of Andheri, Premkumar Sharma, a Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] MLA [member of legislative assembly], was assassinated on Tuesday near his home in South Bombay. Could the killings be the handiwork of the conspirators behind the Bombay blasts of last March? The thought will inevitably occur to most people whose sense of shock at the explosions obviously masterminded with meticulous care may not still have vanished. After all, the Shiv Sena and the BJP have been closely involved in the entire Ayodhya controversy, whether prior to the demolition of the disputed structure there or subsequently. Many, probably most, of

the authors and executioners of the design to blow up important installations in the metropolis with the deadly RDX explosive have already been nabbed. But it is almost certain that there are others still at large. They have a vested interest in settling scores with the Shiv Sena and the BJP as well as the custodians of law and order. Nor can it be without significance that the murder of two prominent leaders of the parties has taken place on the eve of Id-ul-Zuha. Can there be a better opportunity to stir up communal trouble?

This in fact is at the heart of the politics of terrorism exemplified by the, March explosions and the present murders. It is vital for the vile purposes of the perverse practitioners of this kind of politics to constantly create an atmosphere in which communal amity may appear no more than a distant, unrealisable goal. They could not care less if, in the bargain, they fuel a fear psychosis not only among Hindus but among Muslims, too. Their overriding objective, after all, is to portray this country as being perpetually plagued by communal strife and consequent instability. And who else is driven by such malevolence? Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence, of course. Everyone knows it can easily deploy agents for this purpose.

The Bombay Police must naturally carry out thorough investigations to ascertain if any non-political factors, such as personal or group rivalries, have played a part in the murders of More and Sharma. Professional expertise of a high order will be required to determine the precise motivation. The Bombay Police will also have to show the same competence in tracking down the actual culprits as they have in arresting those involved in the explosions. The Shiv Sena leader, Balasaheb Thackeray, has only complicated the whole task by threatening independent action if the police fail to nab More's killers in one week. Is it so difficult for him to realise that lawlessness of the kind implied in the threat will suit the political design of the arch-conspirators?

Article Cautions Delhi on Developments Relating to Tibet

BK1706110793 Delhi PATRIOT in English 9 Jun 93
p 1

[Article by Cecil Viktor from the "Analysis" column: "Tibet: A dicey agenda"]

[Text] There has been a flurry of activity centered on the plight of Tibet and Tibetans under Chinese suzerainty including visits by the Dalai Lama to London and Washington and what happens in Dharamshala, where the exiles are headquartered, should be of interest to Government of India.

From there, a call for self-determination for the Tibetans has emanated echoing what has happened in Europe recently (of which the bloodbath in Bosnia is a symptom). There is much that is not right beyond the high Himalayas but seeing how "self-determination" was handled by the United States and its European allies in

the former Soviet Union, India, and even the Tibetans in exile need to be cautious in their emulation of an unmitigated disaster.

The Tibetans inside Tibet have undoubtedly suffered hardship and ignominy at the hands of the Han race which is bent on swamping them through demographic flooding and cultural suppression and sooner or later the issue must come to a head. But let it not deteriorate into a sacrifice of Tibetans by those whose main interest is cutting China down to size and reduce its potential as a player in the global scene.

The Chinese have not budged an inch from the position that the Dalai Lama and his entourage can return to Tibet only if they accept Chinese suzerainty over it. In the face of this, the only options left the Tibetans are appealing to world public opinion or launching an insurgency movement inside Tibet.

The international community (read the United States and Europe which exercise an effective stronghold on the UN) would not be averse to the latter option primarily because they, themselves, can remain detached but enthusiastic spectator, much more detached than in Bosnia.

Such situation would put India squarely in the position of a "frontline" State a la Pakistan in Afghanistan because of the landlocked nature of Tibet and the best access being through the Himalayan border.

If such a situation is deemed to be necessary and inevitable it would be better if the people of India understand the full ramification of it. It should not be an agenda dictated by foreign elements.

India will have to look beyond the present state of relations to a future beyond the next decade. China is quickly expanding its influence as well as its military strength both nuclear and conventional. Its intentions in South-East Asia and the Indian Ocean littoral are undisguised in the assertion of sovereignty over the Spratly group of reefs off the southern coast of Vietnam to its close cooperation with Pakistan in the nuclear and missile technology and military sales to Iran and Saudi Arabia. In fact, it is an encirclement of India.

There are, thus, two contrary trends emerging. The first involves an Asian security system in which both China and India must find their respective niches. It could make for some tension. The other is the route being overtly and covertly suggested by the West: "self-determination" and "human rights."

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's interest in Tibet cannot be said to be benign. There are telltale signs that the American agenda for Tibet may be foisted on the people and Government of India.

Internal Affairs

BJP Sympathetic to Mamata Banerjee

93AS0763A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 11 Apr 93 p 1

[Article by Debashish Bhattacharya: "BJP is Sympathetic Towards Mamata's Movement"]

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has expressed its heartfelt sympathy towards the anti-CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] movement launched by the Congress leader Mamata Banerjee, though she was not named directly. Simultaneously, they have criticized the "wishy-washy" Congress. Their attitude towards the state Congress is evident in the long draft prepared by the West Bengal BJP leadership and presented at BJP's national working committee. A top-ranking BJP leader said: "The national working committee might adopt a different proposal on the basis of this draft. In this ten-page draft, the history of decadence in West Bengal from 1947 to 1993 during the Congress, United Front, and Left Front regimes has been described." But at the conclusion, the BJP leadership wanted to fill the vacuum after explaining the worthlessness of the Congress as an opposition party in the state. That means that in West Bengal, the BJP basically wants to flourish as an alternative force on an anti-CPM agenda, not through the "Rama-Roti" [religion & bread] slogan. It is clear from the draft that, based on this equation, the BJP is sympathetic to the "real anti-CPM stance" of Congress leaders like Mamata Banerjee. Referring to the downhill history of West Bengal, the BJP has raised the question: What's Congress doing here as the main opposition party? They are shattered by intra-party factionalism. The Congress workers have become a laughing stock. People strongly believe that the CPM has connections with a section of the Congress. Colloquially, this section of Congress is called "watermelon" [spineless leaders], and the genuine "anti-Left" people in Congress have become isolated. They are fighting for a sure defeat. BJP thinks that their biggest challenge is to bring them out of this depression. West Bengal is the best place to campaign for the party's policy. After Mamata's deal with the BJP, this draft submitted at the National Working Committee of the BJP would certainly add grist to the mill. Mamata fights against these "watermelons" in Congress. She has already been marked as the "real fighting leader" against the CPM in the state. The BJP, in a sense, wants to create an ambiance of emotion, explaining that such fighters in the Congress have started suffering from loneliness and dejection.

Advani Interviewed on Early Elections, BJP Policies

93AS0791F Cochin THE WEEK in English 18 Apr 93
pp 34-37

[Lal Krishna Advani Interviewed by Ravindra Dubey: "Rao Government is Unlikely to See the End of 1993"; quotation marks and italicized words as published]

[Text] He is the party's star crowd-puller, more magnetic than even Atal Bihari Vajpayee. L.K. Advani was the one who energised kar sevaks through his rath yatra and oversaw the demolition of the Babri Masjid. In the first few days after the demolition, he seemed to be downcast. He resigned as leader of the opposition and was arrested for conspiracy to demolish the masjid. But soon he bounced back, and was on the offensive against his one-time friend P.V. Narasimha Rao. Advani has once again become the most authoritative voice in the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party].

He has become all the more aggressive, with the Jabalpur High Court nullifying the dismissal of Sunderlal Patwa government and the dissolution of the Madhya Pradesh assembly. Within the BJP, he has been the focus of debate: would he be the right president to lead the party in the next elections?

Advani spoke at length to THE WEEK about the Jabalpur judgment, the mood after Ayodhya, the Bombay blasts and his relationship with the man whom he wants to replace as Prime Minister. Excerpts:

QUESTION: *The Prime Minister has said there is no question of reviving the Madhya Pradesh assembly following the Jabalpur judgment. What do you read in it?*

ANSWER: Frankly, I have not been able to understand how such a statement can be made by the Prime Minister. For months, we have been listening to sermons about the sanctity of judiciary. Here is a judgment of a historical dimension. The Union government's decision to invoke Article 356 to dismiss the Madhya Pradesh government and dissolve the assembly has been set aside and the operative part of it says that the consequential effects must follow. That is, the assembly should be revived and the government restored. The government's counsel sought some time to appeal against it, so two weeks' time was given and implementation of the judgment has been stayed.

But until the Supreme Court decides otherwise, this is the judgment. When Congress spokesman V.N. Gadgil said that he was surprised at this judgment "because after all the President's proclamation is not justiciable", I attributed it to ignorance. When the Janata government passed the 44th amendment, most of the Emergency provisions were repealed, including the one saying that a proclamation under Article 356 will not be justiciable.

Then what made the Prime Minister say that?

I do not know. I sometimes wonder whether he makes remarks off the cuff, without realising that at his level a statement of that kind can have very serious implications. For instance, in an interview, the questioner asked him why he made a hasty announcement about reconstructing the mosque. I was astounded by his reply. He said that if he had not done it, Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif would have done it and would it not be all right for him to say something!

Does he really have a design not to implement the judgment?

What kind of a design can it be? What right has the Prime Minister not to implement a judgment?

What you think now of the Prime Minister?

All that I can say about a man whom I had praised publicly at the outset is this—I do admit that I was wrong in my assessment.

Have you been disappointed?

Yes, extremely.

Was it after last July?

No, my disappointment really started early in 1992. First with the Madhavsingh Solanki episode. Ever since it has been rapidly going down graph.

Did you meet him one-to-one after December 6?

My last meeting with him was on November 18. I had gone to Punjab to attend the funeral of Dr. Baldev Prakash. There I got a call from him inquiring when I was coming back to Delhi. The same evening I returned and had a meeting with him. Home Minister S.B. Chavan was also there.

So, now there is no communication between the BJP and the Prime Minister?

Not with me. Vajpayeeji has met him a couple of times.

How will the party ensure that the judgment is implemented?

The judgment will be implemented. We are hopeful that the Supreme Court will uphold it.

Is there any legal method to avoid implementing it, like amending the Constitution?

They don't have the strength to amend the Constitution. I doubt whether they will get the support of any of the opposition parties on this issue.

Some experts feel that instead of reviving the assembly it is better to hold fresh elections. Are you agreeable?

What is the logic of it? Elections have to be held, even if the court had upheld the dissolution, by June 15 and if Parliament says situation is still not conducive to hold elections, another six months. On that score, court could have done nothing. Having decided that a gross assault has been made on the people of the state by dissolving the assembly, is not the duty of the court to give them relief? That relief can be given only if the assembly is revived.

Do you think this judgment has wiped out the embarrassment over Kalyan Singh's failure to comply with his undertaking in the Supreme Court?

Kalyan Singh did not fail to comply with the undertaking. I don't attach very great importance to the fact that he told the court that he will protect the structure. I think that it is the inherent duty of any government to protect the law.

Just as it is the duty of the home minister to protect the Prime Minister and the citizens. When he fails to do so—as P.V. Narasimha Rao failed to protect Mrs. Indira Gandhi or 3,000 Sikhs in Delhi—the minimum expected of him is that he should resign. He did not do that. If anyone were to accuse you of being in complicity with those who killed these 3,000 people or killed Mrs. Gandhi, how would you feel?

It is exactly the same sense of outrage that Kalyan Singh feels. The only way he could have stopped the people who were breaking the domes was through firing. But he also had told court that he would not allow firing on kar sevaks in any circumstances. So he simply told the officers that he was not allowing them to fire; instead he was tendering his resignation. I don't see what kind of 'betrayal' or 'perfidy' comes into this. Has any minister anywhere resigned despite major tragedies, except Madhavrao Scindia who resigned because of a small air crash?

What is the overall BJP strategy, especially after your tour of south India? How do you gauge the response in those states?

Very often, the word 'strategy' has a relevance to options. For many years until 1989, advantages of going with this party or disadvantages of going alone, things like that, were called strategy. At least for quite some time now, we have no dilemma of this kind. Our path is very simple—seeing that the party and the activists are as active in the field as possible, taking up the people's causes, projecting the party's viewpoints, combating the disinformation campaign that has been unleashed against us after December 6, maximising public support, increasing our acceptability by the people. Though the moment something happens, like Jayalalitha comes and meets me, speculations start that an alliance is in the offing.

Isn't Jayalalitha a part of your strategy?

No, she isn't. N.T. Rama Rao meets Shanta Kumar in Shimla, something appears here and there and then the reports are contradicted. Our party has not thought in terms of any alliance with anyone. We have been telling all our units to concentrate on grassroots activity. Because most of the national parties have all along been thinking in terms of ganging up against us.

If somebody wants to join you?

It is a totally hypothetical question. But between Jayalalitha's meeting with me and my visit to Madras, three things happened. The National Integration Council meeting was convened mainly to criticise the BJP, to practically condemn it. And everyone was condemning the BJP until Jayalalitha spoke. She changed the whole

trend of discussion. She said they should allow the kar seva to take place. After she delivered the speech, she sent a copy to me through her party's representative in Parliament. Later, on the issue of Vande Mataram, AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] members supported us. Without any formal floor coordination, it became coordination. When our state governments were dismissed, the only chief minister to condemn it was Jayalalitha.

These are events which might have created a measure of goodwill between both the parties. That is all. I have not met her since. I have not spoken to her since. Though it kept appearing in the press that Govindacharya keeps meeting her, it is not true. To the best of my knowledge, he has not met her a single day.

What role did Govindacharya play in breaking the Congress-AIADMK alliance?

Nothing absolutely. Four months ago when she met me, during our one-and-a-half-hour talks, it was amply made clear that the Congress-AIADMK alliance was virtually broken. It was only the formal announcement that remained. But I did not share with anyone what she had told me.

So, Govindacharya has nothing to do with it?

Not at all. Of course, if anyone gives him credit for that, why should I object to it?

But a lot of problems in Tamil Nadu have this as the background.

I can tell you. After December 6 incident, a lot of goodwill was created for my party up to mass level. That is all. We kept saying that we have not done it. We planned to do it in a lawful manner by a proper legislation. But so far as the people are concerned, they feel happy about it.

The follies of the Congress have added to the positive gains of the BJP. On top of it comes the judgment. The BJP is far stronger than it was in December. People can see through the disinformation campaign that, if the BJP comes to power, Muslims will be packed off to Pakistan, sati will be legalised, and all that kind of utter rot.

What about the campaign against Bangladeshis?

Yes, what is wrong about it?

The MPs from Bengal say that all Bengali-speaking people in these areas will be thrown out.

After Bombay and Calcutta blasts, a Janata Dal MP is supposed to have said that it is all minority people who are being arrested. Was this a sensible statement to make? If a person indulges in sabotage or terrorism, which religion he belongs to is absolutely irrelevant. These political people who all these years used Muslims simply as vote blocs talk of minority and majority even in the matter of illegal immigration. In America, a

person lost the attorney-general's high position because he had illegal immigrant as his servant at one time. This is the level at which illegal immigration is taken seriously there. When we say that so many millions have come in illegally and that they should be thrown out, we are told that this is communal...I think that illegal immigration from Bangladesh is going to be one of the major issues in times to come.

Any Bengali in Delhi now is Bangladeshi?

This is not true. This is said only to malign our campaign.

Will this campaign go on?

Yes, the Election Commissioner had to strike out one lakh names in Delhi. What does it indicate, except that what we were saying was right?

What is the total number?

My broad assessment is, about three lakhs. Maybe all are not enrolled as voters. It may include children. But if the population is three lakhs, voters will be two lakhs.

Did you not suffer a loss of face with the aborted Boat Club rally where you could not enthuse the ordinary people to defy the security rings?

Why should we? If the rally had been permitted, it would have been a one-day affair or a two-day affair confined to New Delhi. By banning the rally the government made it an international affair for at least three weeks. It enabled us to mobilise the organisation throughout the country. Lakhs of people were arrested, we had a number of rallies all over the country. I was myself amazed by what I saw in Kozhikode, Mangalore, Coorg and Bangalore. In Mangalore, we were told that the fantastic response to the meeting was unprecedented. The Prime Minister was at the same place just seven days earlier. According to the police officers who met me, there were hardly 5,000 people.

There are differences in the party over holding the organisational elections. Why was the decision to complete elections taken in the absence of Joshi?

He was not well, so we took a decision. There are no differences.

Are there differences of perception over Ayodhya in the party, especially between you and Vajpayee?

None. Once we take a decision we adhere to it. On Ayodhya issue, there had been differences of expression. So we formally adopted a resolution in 1989 at Palampur.

The Prime Minister told the AICC [All India Congress Committee] at Surajkund that he was firm on delinking politics from the temple and mosque in Ayodhya. Do you agree?

And, simultaneously, he announced that the mosque will be reconstructed! And that Parliament will pass a bill to build a mosque and a temple. Is this the person who wants religion to be divorced from politics?

My party has not abused religion for electoral ends. Though in the eyes of millions, this Ram issue was a religious issue. We tried consciously to project it as an issue relating to national unity, to the correct meaning of secularism. That is why Varanasi and Mathura are not on our agenda. If we were determined to take advantage of religion, then this does not make sense.

The VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] has identified the three. We said no, we look at it from another viewpoint. In Mathura and Kashi, there are functioning mosques whereas in Ayodhya there has been no functioning mosque for nearly 50 years, since 1936. Therefore the Muslims were reconciled to a temple since 1949, but all of a sudden in 1986 a Babri Mosque Action Committee [BMAC] was formed. It held a demonstration, demanded that unless this was restored to them, they would break the houses of the ministers, etc. And political parties supported the BMAC. There cannot be more perverse pseudo-secularism than this.

If I were to take advantage of religion, I would say Ram, Krishna and Shiva, I will get all the three freed. Now we have members of Janata Dal like Laloo Prasad telling me we are concerned with forward castes. That we are concerned with Ram who is a Kshatriya and not with Krishna who is a Yadav and Shiva.

The Prime Minister said at the threshold of elections, you should be prevented...

Let him do it. Let him ban the BJP. He said it in Tirupati also. At that time, when I protested, he said he did not mean the BJP, that he had Salauddin Owaisi in mind!

While Patwa has said the party would fully abide by the Supreme Court reference, you have said religious issues cannot be decided by courts. Will the party abide by the decision?

Patwaji has said about this particular judgment of Jabalpur High Court.

Newspapers have reported that even on Ayodhya he has said it.

Because there is a reference made under Article 143 by Government of India. It has nothing to do with any other party. Privately they used to tell us that they knew that the temple had to be constructed but Muslims had to be given an honourable way out. And that there can be an honourable way out if, on the basis of evidence, a court says that there was a temple there.

In that case, you must also support the government?

I don't want to support this government on any issue now. The kind of mess that it has made of the whole Ayodhya issue! After all, I had myself suggested Article 143.

To V.P. Singh?

Yes, yes, to V.P. Singh and Narasimha Rao also.

Do you think Ayodhya has a direct linkage to Bombay blasts? Has the Sangh Parivar's aggression helped the rise of Islamic fundamentalism?

I am really sorry that interpretation of the kind which forms the basis of this question is ever made. Such interpretations give legitimacy to terrorism in India. Let us not forget that terrorism in India started with Punjab and spread to Kashmir. In both these cases Pakistan has been very active. Then we have witnessed terrorism in Tamil Nadu and parts of Assam. All these cases have antedated Ayodhya. The recent blasts in Bombay, the police commissioner has said, were planned many months earlier. I would say that even the January riots of Bombay had nothing to do with Ayodhya.

How would the BJP face this challenge?

How did we face Kashmir or Punjab? We had no scapegoat at that time in the name of BJP. Who was responsible for partition? It is the duty of the state to guarantee justice to every citizen. Pandering to these separatist feelings for the sake of bloc votes is not the right way. The BJP-ruled states were relatively free of communal trouble because the administration was instructed to deal sternly with a rioter, whatever his creed or contacts.

Has the ban on RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh], VHP and Bajrang Dal been effective?

By the nature of these organisations, it cannot be effective. The greatest crisis before the nation today is not economic or political, it is the crisis of character. The only organisation in the country which consciously tried to build up the character of the youth is the RSS. By imposing these restrictions on its activities, we are doing great disservice to the whole nation.

How long do you think the Narasimha Rao government will last?

It is a fragile structure. Any unforeseen event can destabilise it. What it will be, I cannot say. This government has seen the commencement of 1993; it is unlikely to see its end.

BJP Said Searching for New Issues

93AS0791H Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
21 Apr 93 p 8

[Article by Tarun Ganguly: "Saffron Straws in the Wind"; italicized words as published]

[Text] The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] appears to have run out of steam within four months of the demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya. It is now in search of a new role in national politics. It has realised Ram and Ayodhya are no longer selling points. It needs a new issue.

The confusion within the party was apparent at the national executive meeting in Calcutta. It did try to raise a few issues like infiltration, national integration, corruption in high places and Kashmir. But these were straws in the wind. Neither the faithful nor the leadership were convinced of their efficacy in mobilising the masses.

Under the presidency of Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee the party in 1984 projected itself as an outfit wedded to the principles of Gandhian socialism. But that fetched the party only two seats in the Lok Sabha. It was under Mr. L.K. Advani's leadership that the BJP emerged as the main opposition in the 1991 Lok Sabha elections with *Hindutva* as its main election plank.

It takes little for the likes of Mr. Advani to realise Ram and Ayodhya are old hat now. Harping on the same issue could be counterproductive. Hence the urgency to raise new issues to capture the attention of the people.

A hardliner like Mr. Murli Manohar Joshi has almost become an embarrassment to the party. Under him the BJP has practically become subservient to the whims of the sadhus, the belligerent Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and the cadres of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh [RSS]. It was quite apparent during the Calcutta meeting that the party wanted to break with the VHP and the RSS. But with Mr. Joshi at the helm the BJP would never have been able to assert itself. Mr. Advani or Mr. Vajpayee are better choices as party president. Their fates will be decided by middle June.

The despondency within the BJP has increased also because it has come to the realisation it cannot force a midterm poll. The political resolution adopted at the national executive does not mention any midterm elections. It soft pedals the issue by expressing the pious hope "the people of India must be given an early opportunity to give themselves a government that will do what must needs be done for the country's security and integrity". This is an obvious deviation from the party's earlier demand for midterm polls not later than July.

A careful examination of the political resolution will reveal a number of "musts" like the lifting of the ban on the RSS and VHP, the elimination of politician-criminal-foreign agent nexus, proper use of Article 356, the branding of Pakistan as a terrorist state, and of course the removal of obstacles to the rebuilding of the Ram *mandir* in Ayodhya. The resolution is devoid of any policy guidelines. Also, it is singularly devoid of any breast thumping over *Hindutva*.

There is little doubt the BJP today finds itself politically isolated and the chinks in its armour are beginning to

show. That Ram was only a ruse to capture power has become apparent by the haste with which it was dumped by the BJP. The overexposure of the *Hindutva* card has made the party susceptible to VHP-RSS blackmail. To cap all this Mr. Joshi's presence at the Pakistan high commissioner's dinner in the capital on Pakistan Day showed the party's ignorance of political developments in the subcontinent in the last 50 years.

Pakistan Day was mooted by the Muslim League in Lahore in the early Forties, seeking partition of the country. It is surprising Mr. Joshi, a champion of *akhand Bharat*, could attend the function ignoring his party's own stand.

That the saffron wave is subsiding is evident from the BJP's poor performance in elections to assemblies in states like Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura. Most BJP candidates forfeited their deposits in these elections. The party can still claim its voting percentage is increasing. But then if candidates are put up everywhere the total number of votes polled by the party is sure to increase. The 1991 West Bengal assembly elections will bear this out. The BJP fielded more candidates than either the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist)] or the Congress. Consequently, the total votes polled by the BJP showed a substantial rise. But in terms of constituencies the party did not make much headway.

In its eagerness to please the electorate the national executive meeting coined the slogan "save agriculture, save the country". It has demanded remunerative prices for farmers, cheap units for the farm lobby and a total rejection of the Dunkel draft. Long dubbed as a party of traders, the BJP now wants to cultivate the farming community. This is but a ploy to make inroads into the bastions of the Janata Dal in the Hindi heartland and offset the challenge posed by Mr. Kanshi Ram's Bahujan Samaj Party. But how serious the party is about the farmers is evident from the barely 10 lines it has devoted to them from tonnes of resolutions. The party should bear in mind the rural population constitutes 70 per cent of the electorate.

Like the *dramatis personae* of Pirendello's *Six Characters in Search of a Role* BJP leaders are making desperate gestures to draw the attention of the masses. They know they cannot whip up popular sentiment once again by riding the twin issues of Ram and Ayodhya. They have also realised that in a country where poverty and unemployment are endemic *Hindutva* cannot cut much ice. Like drowning men they are clutching at straws to save themselves.

Mafia Influence Over Politicians Seen Well Ingrained

93AS0791G Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
22 Apr 93 p 8

[Article by N.S. Saksena: "Gangsters at the Helm"; italicized words as published]

[Text] A popular litany in Pakistan goes like this. Who rules Pakistan? The army. Who rules the army? The heroin mafia. Since 1989—long before the formal demise of the Soviet Union under Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev—even well informed intellectuals inside the Soviet Union had been soberly asserting their country was ruled by organised criminal groups. For more than two decades similar views have been expressed about several Latin American countries.

On one level the common man has to avail himself, on an almost daily basis, of the services of petty hoodlums and small mafia groups. He turns to them for numerous reasons—obtaining a bank loan, the registration of documents, ordering a passport, even buying a railway ticket. Payment ensures a brisk job without the usual delay of the bureaucratic process.

Less obvious are the powerful mafia groups working at higher levels in the state capitals. Finally there are those who hobnob with the absolute pinnacle of the political hierarchy of the country. They specialise in approaching ministers for licences and permits.

Despite the apparent prevalence of so many circles of organised crime and the presence of a conglomeration of small mafia, very few Indians talk of the country as being ruled by them.

However, after the Bombay and Calcutta blasts a host of political analysts are endorsing the possibility of an efficient network of criminal groups operating within the country.

A national newspaper recently commented editorially, "A prominent ruling party politician from Maharashtra is credited with having made Rs [Rupees] 30 billion from land scams. He is similarly held to be in cahoots with gangsterdom there, His opponent and *bete noire*, meanwhile, has close links with the Shiv Sena and also possesses a personal style redolent of feudal overlordism."

The Calcutta press, on the other hand, has spelt out the names and histories of major mafia leaders who are patronised by both the Congress and the ruling Left Front. All this gives credence to the pessimism of many that India must reconcile itself to mafia rule.

In Bombay the mafia specialises in laundering black money. Rough calculations state about 30 per cent of the real estate and building industry and 40 per cent of all three star hotels are under the mafia umbrella. The salient function of these enterprises is to transform the hundreds of millions of rupees acquired through smuggling or heroin trafficking into white money. The smuggling empire of Mr. Dawood Ibrahim alone has been estimated to be worth a staggering Rs 14 billion.

State capitals are prolific breeding grounds for organised crime whose wealth can run into millions of rupees. Even divisional headquarters in Uttar Pradesh like Gorakhpur, Varanasi and Meerut boast of mafia lords whose

personal holdings make them millionaires. Their ill gotten assets include houses, apartments and urban land.

Ideally these flourishing illegal empires would be targets of police raids and forensic accountability. But it is all too often that supreme political protection has bound the long arm of the law. Such immunity from arrest is obtained by purchase. Money is the medium.

Their immeasurable contributions, financial, logistical or otherwise, during elections is the one thing that has endeared the gangs to a greater part of India's politicians. Booth capturing and usage of firearms have come to characterise India's election process. Few can deny a mafia's proclivity for either of these functions.

This is one of the most lamentable manifestations of corruption in India. Elections are one exercise that ideally allow the exercise of popular sovereignty by the masses. Any obstacle to this sovereignty is tantamount to a serious blow to democracy.

Electoral violence claimed 100 lives in Bihar in March 1985. The injury list crossed 300. Indian democracy will forever be endangered if this nexus is not torn apart.

Not surprisingly, India's ruling parties are not exhibiting the slightest enthusiasm for electoral reforms. No vested interest will vote for suicide for its own members. That is why the murderers of the November 1984 riots in New Delhi have not been brought to book though nearly nine years have lapsed.

All of the above present a pessimistic picture. But light is still visible at the end of the tunnel. In the ultimate analysis the voter has to mastermind a change and his awakening cannot be missed. One recent and heartening example is the electoral outcome in Tripura.

Perhaps the most astonishing feature of Tripura polls was the audacious electoral participation of the illiterate and suppressed tribal women. Years of governmental indifference and sexual harassment by party hoodlums inspired them to a determined attempt to better their plight. This augurs well for the average Indian voter.

Rajiv Gandhi lost the Muslim vote in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan in November 1989 because of the loss of Muslim lives in communal riots that took place three months before the elections. This incident proved to be the nemesis of his prime ministerial prospects in 1989.

Similarly, the Tamil Nadu electorate deserted Mr. N. Karunanidhi in the 1991 polls because of existing popular belief he encouraged the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam [LTTE] in their quest to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi.

The last instance is that of the solid Hindu backing the Congress received in the Punjab elections in 1992. This was largely due to the hope harboured by the state's terrorism traumatised populace that the party would curb the menace.

The present nationwide commitment to apprehend India's mafia dons has received a substantial boost with the forced exposure of the erstwhile patrons of these criminals. Of late these politicians have pledged support to the arrest and capture of their wards. But this is only because of a public outcry against the nexus between the politico and the mobster. As memories of the Bombay blasts fade, both hope the focus will shift away from them. The Indian public must sustain this pressure or else the old ways will return.

Tea Industry Affected by Rebel Activities

BK0305091693 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English 24 Apr 93 p 20

[Excerpt] Guwahati—Already pressurised by the ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] and Bodo militants, the tea industry is facing yet another menace in the form of Naga rebels, who have reportedly started crossing the inter-state boundary and asking for money.

Sources in the tea industry said Kanu Tea Estate, located in Charaideo sub-division of Sibsagar district in upper Assam, was 'visited' by a team of Naga rebels last week. They were armed with sophisticated weapons and sought details of the company's mode of payment of salaries etc.

The estate manager, who rushed to Guwahati to apprise the authorities of the situation, informed the Indian Tea Association that it had become practically impossible to run tea estates with the entry of more and more militant bodies into their estates.

In the meantime, the Assam Government has launched a joint cooperation with the Army against Bodo militants and the ULFA in Darrang district, while highly placed sources attributed the abduction of Tata Tea's top executive Bolin Bordoloi to the outlawed Bodo Security Force (BSF) and a faction of the ULFA.

Informed sources on the other hand said Tata Tea Limited has received note from the militants asking for a "huge sum" of money for the release of the abducted executive. Mr Bordoloi was kidnapped on April 8 from here. Sources also confirmed that the Assam Government was not involved in the negotiations going on for the release of Mr Bordoloi, while Tata Tea officials available here have refused to utter anything on the issue. [passage omitted].

Muslim Personal Law Board Said To Reject Ayodhya Initiative

93AS0791C Calcutta SUNDAY in English 24 Apr 93 pp 15-16

[Article by Minu Jian: "One More Hurdle"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's instant, two-point solution to the Ayodhya problem—the formation of two trusts, one for rebuilding the demolished Babri Masjid and another for the Ram Mandir—took a severe

battering last week. The Muslim Personal Law Board (MPLB) summarily rejected the package, saying that the relocation of the mosque at any other site other than where it stood before 6 December would have no sanctity under Islam.

Perhaps the most representative of all Muslim organisations, the MPLB met the Prime Minister for 30 minutes at the beginning of last week and stressed that the package offered by him was meaningless under Islam. For, the principle, they explained, was: "once a mosque, always a mosque". The facts that the structure had been demolished, that puja had been allowed to be performed and that idols had been installed, could not alter the status of the place, they maintained.

The delegation, headed by the renowned scholar, Ali Mian (who is also the president of the board), insisted that the mosque be rebuilt at the original site and also demanded the removal of the idols of ram from the spot. "It is not the brick and mortar structure which matters, but the fact that a Muslim has bowed down in prayer at the spot. According to Islam, that place will be always venerated," said a member of the board.

The MPLB has also demanded withdrawal of the reference under Article 143 before the Supreme Court (the Article empowers the President to consult the apex court on "questions of law and fact"). In a memorandum to Rao, the board contended that the reference was "neither restricted to the existence of a temple nor was it confined to the period of Babur, but had been stretched far beyond". The reference was a ploy, it felt, to lend credence to the unsubstantiated claims of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) that the Babri mosque had been built after demolishing a Hindu temple.

Any signs of a definitive solution to the crisis receded further as the board also demanded that the presidential assent to the Acquisition Bill, which has been framed by the Centre to take over the disputed site in Ayodhya, be stayed. A member of the board said, "Acquisition of any place of worship by the government go against the spirit of the Constitution."

Moreover, the MPLB has also asked the Prime Minister to examine a host of other issues plaguing the community: the detention of a large number of Muslims under TADA [Terrorists and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act], the deletion of Muslim names from voters' lists and more general problems such as the economic and educational backwardness of the minority community.

The fact that the MPLB has now joined the fray adds a new dimension to the *mandir-masjid* controversy and is certain to make Rao's task all the more difficult.

That is because the board is a truly pan-Muslim body, with representatives from all sects and from all over the country. Headed by Ali Mian, it meets frequently but seldom intervenes in a political matters. But this time it has come out strongly against the government move, and

its views are likely to carry more weight among the Muslims than those of the government or even other minority organisations which are in the thick of the Ayodhya tangle.

Comprising the *ulemas* and other Muslim religious heads from all over, the board was set up in 1967. Since then, it has played a decisive role in several crucial issues. In 1973, it ensured that a Bill on adoption was promptly withdrawn. And, in 1986, it intervened in the most important issue regarding Muslim personal law—the controversial Shah Bano case. A member recalls how a delegation of the board had met the then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi and alleged that the Supreme Court judgement, awarding Shah Bano maintenance after divorce, went against the *Shariat*. Rajiv Gandhi had listened and the rest is history.

CBI Said Raiding RSS, VHP Offices

93AS0791D Calcutta SUNDAY in English 24 Apr 93
pp 28-29

[Article by Aditi Phadnis: "Who Demolished the Mosque"; italicized words as published]

[Text] "We've struck the right note," a minister in P.V. Narasimha Rao's cabinet claimed after the Congress president's scathing attack on the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in his rounding-up speech at the Surajkund session. "But we have to show we mean business now. Otherwise we'll lose the whole game to the BJP."

Within ten days of the Prime Minister's statement at the AICC [All India Congress Committee] session and barely 72 hours before the BJP's national executive meeting in Calcutta, the Narasimha Rao regime displayed that it meant business. Last week, Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) sleuths swooped down on offices of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), the Shiv Sena and the Bajrang Dal. In all, 24 premises in four states were raided, at the end of which five persons were arrested including the BJP MP from Gonda, Brij Bhushan Sharan Singh.

Those taken into custody were charged with committing various crimes like "desecration of a place of worship", "hurting religious sentiments", "criminal trespass" and even "dacoity". The maximum jail term for persons accused of these crimes is seven years.

Suddenly, it seemed as though it wasn't a good time to be a member of the *sangh parivar*.

The purpose behind these well-organised raids was two-fold:

- Display that the government was not just happy with banning organisations like the VHP and the Bajrang Dal; it was serious about implementing the ban. This was necessary because there were reports suggesting that the banned outfits were carrying out their activities with impunity.

- Collect evidence of the "criminal conspiracy" that led to the demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya on 6 December last year.

If the raids were meant to send *sangh parivar* members scurrying for cover, it was indeed successful. Swami Sachidanand Sakshi, the BJP MP from Mathura in whose flat the VHP media centre in Delhi is housed, fled the premises when the CBI men arrived. And he's been missing ever since. (A VHP activist evaded a clear answer when asked about the whereabouts of the Swamiji. "He's somewhere in Vrindavan," was the reply.) There's a warrant out for him, the VHP activists added.

The CBI also found documentary evidence of a "criminal conspiracy" behind the demolition of the Babri Masjid. The sleuths seized papers which, *prima facie*, revealed that the Ayodhya incident was a well-planned exercise. And CBI sources claimed that they had reached nearer the goal of identifying the perpetrators of the crime.

According to the CBI, between 100 and 300 people were involved in the actual demolition. And all of them were hard core cadres, trained to pull down concrete structures in a short time. Some of them have even been identified.

All this has naturally unnerved the *sangh parivar*. But the way the raids were carried out has angered some leaders. "The CBI team came at 7.30 in the morning," M.P. Masand, the manager of the VHP media centre in Delhi, informed. "There were 50 people in the team. They did not permit me to make any calls and I was also prevented from answering the telephone. They surrounded the premises from all four sides and searched everything.

In Delhi, however, the CBI found little. "They took away 12 to 14 photographs, and some press releases and assorted papers," Masand said. Then, the team wanted to search the rooms of Sachidanand Sakshi. "I told the CBI people that I didn't have a key to his bedroom. So they called a locksmith, got the lock opened and searched his bedroom," Masand said, adding that he had reminded the CBI sleuths that what they were doing amounted to infringing upon the fundamental rights of an MP. "I said I'd call the Swamiji to take his permission. But they wouldn't even let me make that phone call."

But the CBI was working to a brief. It had to answer such questions as who hatched the conspiracy to bring down the Babri Masjid, how many people were involved in organising and implementing it, and when was it hatched.

When the CBI took up the Ayodhya case in the second week of April, it first prepared a shortlist of the suspects. The raids certainly helped to narrow down the focus of the investigation. Chargesheets against the accused are now a matter of time, a CBI official informed.

And there is reason to believe him. Three hundred *kar sevaks* and another 150 eyewitnesses have already been interrogated. The *kar sevaks* were mostly from Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi. And the grilling sessions have established what the world already knows—the demolition was carried out by trained members of the *sangh parivar* manually and *not* with explosives as suspected earlier.

If Delhi proved to be a dampner, the searches in Bombay yielded good results. The Thane offices of the Shiv Sena leader, Anand Dighe, were searched for nine hours. The CBI found a picture of the demolished mosque with the caption: "I am proud of them". Dighe, incidentally, had participated in the *kar seva* on 6 December.

Observers believe that the CBI actually erred by organising the raids so late—nearly four months after the demolition. The CBI admits that this is true, but as an official explained, there were legal formalities to be completed. "You can't just walk into someone's house and raid it," he said.

The *sangh parivar*, of course, has a different explanation for the delay in raiding its offices. "The search warrants were dated 3 April. They were duly signed by the metropolitan magistrate. But the raids were carried out on 9 and 10 April. Why was there such a delay?" Masand asked.

He went on to answer the question himself. "I'll tell you. Just two days before the raids, Muslim leaders met the Prime Minister and asked him to do something about the mosque. The CBI acted to prove that the government was doing something. There is no other explanation for this delay."

The *sangh parivar* also asks why the search warrants had no mention of the First Information Report (FIR), which the CBI filed soon after the 6 December incident. "It is clear to us that the CBI didn't expect to find anything involving us with the demolition—otherwise they would certainly have drafted the search warrants in such a way as to mention the 6 December incident in Ayodhya. But there was no mention of it anywhere," a BJP member said.

Such criticisms notwithstanding, the CBI is confident that it will soon lay bare the conspiracy that changed the course of Indian history.

Trade Unions Affiliated with BJP Said Increasing
93AS07911 Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
25 Apr 93 p 1

[Article by Gautam Chaudhuri: "BJP Trade Unions Coming Up in the State"]

[Text] The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] is now all set to cast its spell over the working class. Trade unions operating under the saffron flag are no longer a theoretical

possibility. Soon BJP-controlled trade unions will be coming up in different industrial sectors.

The Central party leadership has already given a go-ahead and plans are in their final stages. The search is now on for a name which will give the BJP trade unions a distinct identity. By all indications, the name will be finalized at the National Council meeting of the party in Bangalore in June.

The party finds in Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangha (BMS), a ready but a bit unwilling ally because the BMS is considered to be a sister organization, despite its autonomous status. Perhaps to keep the BMS in good humour, the BJP trade unions would be set up only in those industries, where BMS does not have a unit.

The party leaders seem to have taken a cue from the AITUC [All India Trade Union Congress] and the CITU [Center of India Trade Unions], which are the trade unions of the CPI and CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist)] respectively, though autonomous on paper. "We want to go a step further and have a party's own trade union", the leaders say.

Perhaps the insistence on the part of the BMS to keep its autonomy intact has prompted the leadership to take up the idea of floating its own trade union body.

The idea was mooted at the Vijaywada National Council meeting of the BJP in 1987.

A labour cell was set up in the West Bengal units of the BJP. People with trade union experience like Mr. Arun Bhadra, Mr. Salil Dasgupta, Mr. Anindya Gopal Mitra and Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed were inducted. Mr. Mitra, who is also the State BJP secretary, says they have already formed unions within organizations like CSTC [expansion not given], Calcutta Tramways, Calcutta Corporation and a few other bodies either as unrecognized units or as BMS-affiliated unions. "The enthusiastic response from the workers is the biggest sources of inspiration and we will set up unions in all sectors of industries", says Mr. Mitra. He is confident that workers will flock to the BJP.

Government Said Ready to Form Security Council to Oversee Security

93AS0836C Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
29 Apr 93 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, April 28—The government has revived the idea of constituting a National Security Council as a formal mechanism, encompassing the defence forces, intelligence agencies and foreign office, to take a coordinated view of the long-term security concerns of the country.

Announcing this in the Lok Sabha today, the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, said he was considering the proposal, mooted by the Rajiv Gandhi government but subsequently shelved, in view of the uncertainty and strains which had crept into the security environment.

Mr Rao was replying to the debate in the Lok Sabha on the demands for grants of the Union defence ministry, of which he holds charge. The demands were accepted by a voice vote.

In his reply, the Prime Minister emphasised that the resource crunch facing the country and the subsequent decline in defence outlay would not come in the way of its defence preparedness.

He informed members that while his government did not have any aggressive designs, it had ensured that a pre-determined optimum level of defence preparedness is maintained.

Referring to the uncertainty in supply of military hardware from the Soviet Union after its breakup, he said the situation had improved considerably after the visit of the Russian President, Mr Boris Yeltsin. Russia had agreed to honour all its past supply contracts and Ukraine too was expected to follow suit once its problems of transportation were solved.

The Prime Minister also replied to queries raised by members during the debate on the progress of Light Combat Aircraft [LCA] and the main battle tank (MBT) Arjun projects.

Light combat aircraft: He disclosed that the Union Cabinet had approved the LCA project on May 20 and production of this aircraft would begin in 1996. By the beginning of the next century, the LCA would be ready for induction into the Air Force.

The Prime Minister said 119 prototypes of the main battle tank, Arjun, had already been developed and trials of this tank would take place in June. Production of MBT Arjun will commence by 1996. "The country will be proud of Arjun," he said.

The Prime Minister also rebutted suggestions that the report of the Arjun Singh committee on the reorganisation and long-term perspective planning of the defence forces had been put in the cold storage. A number of recommendations in the six-volume report had been accepted and others were under consideration.

Earlier, giving a brief resume of the global security environment, Mr Rao referred to the success of the START 2 and the chemical weapons treaties and said that these had contributed to easing tensions. Besides, he also pointed at the recent decision of the 47th session of the U.N. General Assembly to set up an arms register to bring about greater "transparency" in sales and transfer of armaments between two countries.

While these were welcome features at the global level, the end of the Cold War was seeing regional conflicts take a high profile. "The end of the Cold War has not ended our troubles."

The Prime Minister also referred to the disintegration of the Soviet Union. "One disciplined military-industrial complex has broken up. What is happening there, we do not know. There was some discipline then, there is none now."

In this context, Mr Rao recalled that earlier the United States and the Soviet Union had a stake in persuading other countries to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT] to preserve the hegemony of the club of nuclear weapon states.

With the break-up of the Soviet Union, this axiom of international diplomacy had become redundant. "We do not know how many of them (Central Asian republics) have nuclear weapons," he said.

Arjun Singh Said Still Major Challenger

93AS0791A New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English
30 Apr 93 p 25

[Article by Z. Agha and J.M. Ansari: "Still a Challenger"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's loyalists may like to believe that the acrimonious AICC(I) [All India Congress Committee] session last fortnight had finished off the challenge from Arjun Singh, Union minister for human resource development, for good. But Surajkund was only a tantalising glimpse of the real battle that's going on between the two Congress(I) titans. Smarting from the ignominy of his Surajkund retreat, Singh, promptly embarked on a campaign to mobilise public opinion against the party president and reverse some of the damage done to his image.

His first stop was Kunda in Pratapgarh, Uttar Pradesh, a deliberate foray into the territory of Dinesh Singh, the Rajput strongman who had been inducted into the Cabinet to counter Singh's growing influence in the state. Senior state Congress(I) leaders including N.D. Tiwari, state party President Mahabir Prasad, and Pramod Tewari, ignored Singh's visit altogether. They made it clear that the Kunda rally was not a party programme but a personal initiative on the part of the cabinet minister. Tiwari was noncommittal: "It's a free country. People can go wherever they want."

But despite the absence of party bigwigs, the rally was an impressive affair. Several middle level leaders such as Arun Kumar Singh Munna, Jagdambika Pal, Niaz Hasan and Saleem Shervani joined in. And, to Dinesh Singh's discomfiture, Abhay Pratap Singh, the sitting Janata Dal(A) MP [Member of Parliament] from the constituency, also put in an appearance. The Muslims and Rajputs among the audience were particularly delighted with Singh's performance and enthusiastically egged him

on every time he made a scathing remark against the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] or Rao: "For what happened on December 6, no excuses can be offered from the Congress side, only apologies." Rao also got his share: "*Kuch log samajhte hain ki Congress ka bojh unke kandho par hee hai; aisa nahin hai*" (some people believe that they carry the Congress(I)'s burden on their shoulders; this is not so).

The Rao camp did not take kindly to the jibe. Rao's Political Secretary Jitendra Prasad urged Rao to drop Singh from the prestigious Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs and keep him out of the Congress Parliamentary Board which selects candidates during elections. The idea is to curtail his influence in the Government and the party. The show cause notices issued to Surajkund dissidents K.N. Singh, M.L. Fotedar, Sheila Dixit, Natwar Singh and Chinta Mohan, were also intended as a warning to Singh.

But the disciplinary action had little effect on Singh's confidence. The basic differences between him and Rao seem to be irreconcilable and stem from their absolutely different approaches towards the BJP. As Rao clarified at the Surajkund session, he is opposed to adopting an active anti-temple line. Instead he prefers a "soft" Hindu line and wants the Ram temple to come up in Ayodhya with the minimum fuss. His camp believes that the Mulayam Singh Yadav style of handling the BJP only leads to a build-up of a Hindu backlash.

Singh, on the other hand, believes that the country needs an aggressive secular line. He feels that unless the party declares its anti-BJP stance unequivocally, the Congress(I)'s traditional support base among the Muslims and backwards will shrink rapidly. Ajit Jogi, a Singh supporter, points out that the Mulayam Singh-Kanshi Ram combine is already making an impressive headway in the crucial Hindi belt which sends more than half the MPs to the Lok Sabha.

Singh's point is making sense to an increasing number of neutral party-members. Several admit to their admiration for Singh in private. Says an Uttar Pradesh leader: "We may have supported the party president in Surajkund but we are not opposed to Singh's approach." It is an open secret that the Thakurs and Muslims in the Congress(I) are lending their support to Singh's campaign. This, they feel, is the best and only way to retain their own local support base.

The Thakur from Rewa was the first one off the block from Surajkund and now really seems to be building up pace and momentum. Kunda will be followed by a summer tour of nearly 100 constituencies including Raipur, Bhopal and Mhow in Madhya Pradesh, Malda in West Bengal and Varanasi and Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh. And dates for touring the rest of the country are being finalised. Unless, of course, Rao comes up with a plan to stop Singh in his tracks.

Arjun Singh Efforts to Woo Non-Congress Support Reported

93AS0849B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 1 May 93
p 1

[Article by Kumar Anand: "Indications of an Agreement Between Kanshi Ram and Arjun Singh"]

[Text] New Delhi, 29 April—Mr. Arjun Singh, minister of human resources, and Kanshi Ram, leader of the Bahujan Samaj Party, had a one-hour meeting today to plan strategies against the BJP. It is understood that both leaders are ready to have joint rallies. Congress President P.V. Narasimha Rao had an earlier long meeting with Kanshi Ram, on the night of 23 April. The people close to Kanshi Ram admit that he had a meeting with the Congress president; however, even a week later, the Congress spokesman said, "I have no knowledge of it."

However, what if Arjun Singh and Kanshi Ram were to shake hands? Mr. Digvijay Singh, president of the Madhya Pradesh Congress and a close confidant of Arjun Singh, replied, "This would be a welcome development, because they both are opposed to their common enemy, the BJP's [Bharatiya Janata Party] communalist policies." Will it not make Congress lose its lower caste support? The answer was, "If the Congress continues to work for this group, why would it desert the Congress (I)?" In a meeting on 16 April, Mr. Digvijay Singh told Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, who is also the Congress president, that Kanshi Ram had a very successful rally in Bhopal on 14 April. He was so scared by this influence that he asked his party to do something about it. Afterwards, Mr. Rao and Arjun Singh met to talk with Kanshi Ram.

According to sources close to Arjun Singh, it does not matter if Kanshi Ram has an agreement with Mulayam Singh in Uttar Pradesh; Congress has no problem forming a coalition with him in Madhya Pradesh. Arjun Singh has a personal relationship with Kanshi Ram. He spent two hours with him at his birthday party on 5 February. According to these sources, Arjun Singh had cooperated with Kanshi Ram for Lok Sabha elections in Madhya Pradesh in 1989. He had given him 13 seats under this agreement. However, Ghulam Nabi Azad had opposed giving so many seats, and involved Rajiv Gandhi, who canceled the whole deal. The people close to Arjun Singh believe that they can reach some agreement about seats during the November Vidhan Sabha election.

None of the leaders were available to tell us what the two leaders talked about between 0930 and 1030. Kanshi Ram has some kind of agreement with Mulayam Singh Yadav's Samajwadi Party in Uttar Pradesh. He used to say that he would make a decision about gathering up the broken Janata Dal in 1989 after talking to Kanshi Ram. Mulayam Singh, who had been in power with the support of the Congress Party after the Janata Dal was broken up, had been fully opposed to the Congress Party after the 6 December Ayodhya incident. Thus, Kanshi Ram's joining forces with the Congress Party could affect his

relations with Mulayam Singh. It could also mean that Kanshi Ram wants to keep both options open for the November elections. In addition, Mulayam Singh and Kanshi Ram are totalitarian leaders of their parties.

Dissension, Not Ethnicity

93P50189C Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi
01 May 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Educate Them That Kashmir Is NOT A Muslim Issue"]

[Text] The country must get ready now to face the consequences of all the mistakes and big blunders we have committed on the issue of Kashmir to date. It is hard to digest when one's faults are shown up. But when the same past comes to our very doorstep it is very hard to ignore it. It was a mistake to take this issue to the United Nations at a time when the Indian army was getting busy curbing Pakistani supported infiltrations and atrocities in Kashmir. To accept their decision was an even greater mistake, since we brought us down to Pakistan's level. Having accepted it, our seeming to be half-hearted in its implementation was an unpardonable mistake. After committing all these errors, to leave such a strategically significant area as Kashmir in the control of the Abdullah clan, and to repeatedly stage the drama of polls—these are mistakes this country's history can never forgive.

Look at the temerity of such blundering governments when they declare Kashmir an inseparable part of India, and say this issue is strictly internal with no international significance, when they have spared nothing to effect just the opposite! We would like to give such proclamations 100 percent support, but having taken the issue ourselves to the UN, with all attendant fanfare, and having allowed heated, lengthy discussions between Pakistan's Zafarullah Khan, and India's Krishna Menon in such an internationally public forum, with what face shall we give such endorsement? When Pakistan brings this up in SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] we will not discuss it saying it is not the right forum for bilateral issues, and thereby allow Pakistan an uncontested narration of its story. We made the base loose in 1948 itself. This time Pakistan has not only raised the issue in the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference], but has even had an anti-India statement drawn up by this body. The member states, who are of course Muslim, have openly supported the Pakistani stand, and have pledged to press India to agree to hold a new plebiscite.

This is Pakistan's strategy and it is standing securely on it. But us? This time we have decided to set the record on making noncommittal noises. When the Islamic nations were busy drawing Kashmir into its brotherhood, our State Minister for External Affairs was explaining to a pragmatic Prime Minister of Pakistan, "Ours is a nation where people of all faiths live together in peace. You should mind your house." Why was it necessary for

Salman Khurshid to make a statement supporting equal treatment of all societies in India? Can't he read the handwriting on the wall? What is his problem? What is the great difficulty that keeps him from giving a stern warning to Pakistan and to dissidents in Kashmir? Who doesn't know that the conflict in Kashmir is mainly being kept alive by its militant Hezb-e-Mujahiddin, and that it is supported from the outside by Pakistan and on the inside only by some of its Muslim citizens? All the Hindus that used to live in the valley have been frightened and driven out by the Hezb and even though they are banished, their whole-hearted support is for India. The Buddhists of Ladakh and the Hindus of Jammu and Udhampur are very much opposed to dissension. The strategy for destroying India is based on divising a mythical idea of ethnic hostility, which does not exist in actuality, but is created and fed by the extremists. We have been fighting against this for nearly five decades and yet why are Salman Khurshid and Chavhan playing the game of "saying" this philosophy was not supported in the past nor will it be supported now, and "not doing" anything about it? They keep saying that the dissension taking place in the name of Islam will be crushed, that the Constitution of India has provisions for resolving all attendant problems, etc. Mr. Khurshid's weak excuses and Mr. Chavhan's bullish and untimely pronouncements are not going to solve anything.

Whether the Indian government likes it or not, our very inefficient policies in the past have made Kashmir an internationally noticed issue. This is why when the United States starts exerting pressure to resolve this issue, and goes as far as tastelessly suggest itself as mediator, we have no choice but to keep quiet. It is about time India made its thoughts on the issue clear. It will have to state clearly and boldly that Kashmir is not an Islamic problem and its solution will not be on that basis. India will have to say that the UN recommendation is now 45 years old and so much water has flown in the Sindhu and Jhelum since then that it does not apply to present conditions. It will have to remind the UN that Pakistan has abetted terrorism and extremism in Punjab and Kashmir, giving training, support, and resources to militants so much that the matter has rotted to this extent. It will have to declare that the issues of cosmopolitanism in countries cannot be determined by plebiscite. Thus, if the United States wishes to get in between so be it, but the issue of Kashmir cannot be solved by breaking India apart. If India makes the effort to disseminate this logic worldwide even to reach the United States, it will certainly meet with enough support.

Politics in Rajasthan Analyzed, Seen in Disarray

93AS0836B Bombay THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA in English 30 Apr 93 p 9

[Article by Inder Sawhney: "Is Rajasthan Next?"]

[Text] The judgment by the Madhya Pradesh high court has enlivened the political scene in Rajasthan. It has clearly come as a shot in the arm for the BJP [Bharatiya

Janata Party] in that the MP [Member of Parliament] judgment will have a sufficient bearing on the case filed in the Rajasthan high court by the former chief minister, Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, and others challenging the dismissal of the BJP-JD-(D) coalition government. An additional advantage for the applicants in Rajasthan is that the governor, Dr M Chenna Reddy, is on record as having given a clean chit to the Shekhawat government on a number of occasions.

The BJP appears to be more than certain that one fall-out of the MP judgment will be that elections to the Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha would be held before June even if the Rajasthan high court's judgment is to the contrary. That the party wants to extract as much political mileage as possible from the MP verdict is evidenced by the fact that soon after the verdict, the BJP leader Atal Behari Vajpayee visited Jaipur and addressed a public meeting where he launched a scathing attack against the Centre demanding an early poll in the state.

Shekhawat says it is immaterial what the Supreme Court decides. Whether it upholds or strikes down the MP judgment one thing has become clear: that the norms of democracy have been thrown to the winds by the Centre. Even municipal bodies are dismissed without any rhyme or reason. The state BJP chief Ram Das Agarwal argues that since similar cases are pending in the high courts of Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh, it would be better if these cases are decided soon and all the cases referred to the Supreme Court together. The judgment, according to him, has made people enthusiastic about the polls. He is optimistic that the party will get a "thumping majority" irrespective of whether the elections are held in June or in November.

For the Congress, which is not only divided but has of late been greatly upset over the style of functioning of the governor, the MP judgment has come as a rude shock. The party which has been lying dormant for quite some time, was harbouring the hope that the elections in the state would not be held before November. On the other hand, there is a strong feeling in a section of the party that if the governor is not removed immediately the battle of the hustings is as good as lost even before it is fought. Congress leaders do not hide the fact that the impression amongst the people is that the state is being ruled by the Congress by virtue of the President's rule whereas the governor's actions are "anti-Congress." They were shocked over the governor's comments in his home state, Hyderabad, when he told newsmen there that the BJP would sweep the polls if elections were held in Rajasthan now. Later, when eyebrows were raised in political circles, he came out with a clarification that he had been misquoted by the press. A senior Congress leader said: "if we have a friend like Dr Reddy, we do not need an enemy to defeat us."

Recently, a delegation of Congress leaders drawn from both the rival groups led by the former chief minister, Harideo Joshi and the PCC [Pradesh Congress Committee] chief, Paras Ram Maderna, had met the prime

minister, Narasimha Rao, in Delhi and demanded Dr Reddy's removal. Maderna had even told Rao that if he was not inclined to remove Dr Reddy, the elections in the state should be held as early as possible. Maderna went to the extent of conveying to Rao that each day of Dr Reddy's stay in Rajasthan was costing the Congress dearly. Other leaders also openly criticised Dr Reddy. Ironically, Janardhan Gehlot, Dr Reddy's lone supporter, was in the delegation.

In fact, the two factions made common cause against the "aggressive governor" after what has come to be known as the "Holi incident" involving the veteran Congress leader, Harideo Joshi.

On the day following Holi, Joshi had an appointment with the Governor to greet him. He went to the Raj Bhavan at the fixed time—6 pm—but the Governor was not there. After waiting for about 10 minutes he enquired from the Raj Bhavan staff about the Governor and was told that the latter had gone to call on Shekhawat. The Raj Bhavan staff twice contacted the Governor at Shekhawat's residence and informed him that Joshi was waiting for him but in vain. Finally, Joshi returned without meeting the Governor.

Incidentally, the BJP has also lately suffered at the hands of the Governor, who removed the vice-chancellor of the University of Rajasthan, Dr Rameshwar Sharma, in a humiliating fashion by instigating police action. Dr Sharma was appointed vice-chancellor by Shekhawat but he is considered to be close to the hardliners' group led by Lalit Kishore Chaturvedi.

Although the Congress has yet to do its homework on the strategy to be adopted for the poll campaign, the party's apparent handicap is that it would find it difficult to hook the Shekhawat government because of the intervening spell of President's rule. Mathur says that he has been pleading for early polls since the dismissal of the Shekhawat government on December 15, 1992. "There is no need to get worked up over the governor's attitude. This is an elected government," he says. He terms the Madhya Pradesh high court decision as quite unprecedented. Joshi was not able to say how many seats the Congress would win in the coming election. All he said was that soon he would get a survey of each of the 200 Vidhan Sabha constituencies done to find out where his party stands.

Meanwhile, the mounting BJP challenge has led to the beginning of a process of realignment within the state Congress. Even as the central leadership of the party is thinking of holding a meeting of the leaders of both the warring camps to bring about a patch-up, a meeting held recently between the former Union minister, Ashok Gehlot, and a former state minister, Chandan Mal Baid, has set the tone for unity in the party. It is being perceived as a shot in the arm for the Joshi group as Baid is a confidant of Joshi's.

So far as infighting is concerned, the lot of the BJP which in coalition with the Janata Dal had ruled the state for

about three years, is no better. The party has yet to wriggle out of the imbroglio unleashed by the recent admission into its fold of the 14 former Janata Dal MLAs [Member of Legislative Assembly] some of whom are highly controversial. The Chaturvedi group which has the blessings of L K Advani, had strongly opposed their entry but their efforts were torpedoed by Shekhawat. Most of these were ministers in the Shekhawat cabinet. The simmering discontent in the Chaturvedi camp can be expected to come to a boil when it comes to the distribution of election tickets. It is learnt that the new entrants have been promised tickets by Shekhawat.

As against this the Congress can draw cheer from the entry into its fold of eight former Janata Dal MLAs who are followers of one of the tallest Jat leaders of the state, Mr Nathu Ram Mirdha, who returned to the Congress last year. The party is also optimistic of an electoral alliance with the Janata Dal-A.

Arjun Singh Seen Rallying Dissident Congress (I) Supporters

93AS0837A Calcutta SUNDAY in English 1 May 93
p 19

[Article by Sharat Chandra: "Rallying the Dissidents"]

[Text] No matter what the consequences or the threat, the Congress(I) high command just cannot stifle the voice of the dissidents, especially that of Arjun Singh. The AICC [All India Congress Committee] session at Surajkund might have given a fresh lease of life to Prime Minister and Congress president Narasimha Rao, but the Union human resource development minister won't let him rule in peace.

And significantly, Arjun Singh has chosen Uttar Pradesh, politically the country's most important state, from where to declare war on Rao. When Singh announced that he would stage a sadbhavana rally at Kunda, part of Pratapgarh district, it was not without meaning.

The significance of the venue could be gauged from the fact that Pratapgarh is traditionally regarded as a stronghold of the external affairs minister, Dinesh Singh, who was also the raja of the erstwhile princely state of Kalakankar (in the same district). Therefore, Arjun Singh rightly chose Kunda to throw a challenge to the Prime Minister.

In reality, the sadbhavana rally was just a facade to hide the real purpose of the show. It was clearly evident from the tenor of his speech that the wily Thakur from Madhya Pradesh—cornered at Surajkund—was not going to take it lying down. Singh's low profile at the AICC session was a calculated retreat to bide his time and prepare for the final assault.

Among those who had the courage of conviction to throw in their lot behind Arjun Singh were Jagdambika Pal, Arun Kumar Singh and Zafar Ali Naqvi. This was

despite instructions from the district Congress president, Ashok Bajpai, that dissidents would be dealt with firmly.

While the notable absentees included such heavyweights as Narain Dutt Tiwari and Pramod Tiwari, the leader of the dissolved Congress Legislature Party, who, incidentally, had never failed to attend any of Singh's previous meetings, the surprising aspect was the presence of a large number of Congressmen from neighbouring Amedhi. This led observers to believe that the Union minister had the blessings of both Sonia Gandhi and Captain Satish Sharma.

In a press conference after the rally, Arjun Singh told reporters that he had to pursue his crusade against the virus of communalism being spread by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and that the Congress being a democratic party wasn't anybody's fiefdom. Moreover, as a "devoted soldier of the Congress," he considered it his duty to see that the party was able to re-establish itself in the Hindi heartland, where it had suffered an erosion of popularity after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.

Arjun Singh utilised the rally to draw the attention of the people to the circumstances that led to the Congress' confinement in the south. Emphasising on how important it was to build up the party in the north, he pointed out that this would not be possible without strengthening the party's base in Uttar Pradesh, the country's most populous state. Thereby, the Union minister also vindicated his stand for launching his campaign against communalism from this state and not from Madhya Pradesh, his home turf.

Arjun Singh went on: "Remember UP has the largest number of Lok Sabha seats and if the Congress remained weak here, it would not only mean weakening the nation as a whole but could also lead to threatening the unity and integrity of the country."

The wily Thakur claimed that the people were harping for a change and that the saffron influence was on the wane. He cited the example of the students' union elections in Allahabad, Benaras, Lucknow and Kumaon universities where the BJP-supported Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Indian People's Front-sponsored All India Students' Association.

Singh, of course, admitted that the Congress too had fared miserably in these polls which could be interpreted as a consequence of the Congress not coming down heavily against communal parties such as the BJP. "This impression has to be erased from the minds of the people at all costs," Singh cried out.

While Arjun Singh's supporters are busy preparing the stage for holding similar exercises in Kanpur and Lakhimpur-Kheri, Dinesh Singh has swung into action though a bit late in the day. So, watch out for some high-voltage action.

Dismissal of Elected Governments Seen Harmful to Democracy

93AS0836F Bombay BOMBAY SUNDAY OBSERVER
in English 2 May 93 pp 11, 16

[Article by D.D. Thakur: "Article 356 and Battle for Democracy"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The recent judgment of the Madhya Pradesh High Court on the dissolution of the state assembly is an historic one: finally, a decision has been taken against the operation of Article 356 of the Constitution and the dissolution of a state assembly.

In this context, it is worth recollecting what happened soon after the 1977 elections. The Congress had lost the general election in the Hindi belt and the Janata Party government at the Center, on the ground that the Congress had lost the confidence of the electorate, had written to nine chief ministers to advise their respective governors to dissolve the assemblies, so as to seek a fresh mandate.

In fact, the period of the assemblies had already expired, but the tenure had been extended from five to six years through a constitutional amendment during the Emergency. Therefore, the home minister told the chief minister to advise the governors to dissolve the House. The chief ministers did not agree to this suggestion. Consequently, a suit was filed in the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court declined to interfere on the ground that the matter was essentially political in nature. The Government of India, the Supreme Court said, should advise the President on the matter. And Article 356 should be invoked only if the President felt that the Government of India was satisfied that a situation has risen wherein a state government could not carry out its functions in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

In short, the Supreme Court held that it had no authority in the issue. It felt the issue, being of a political nature, should be kept away from the purview of the courts. Otherwise, the court would also become a matter of controversy. It was rightly felt at that time that politics should not be allowed to creep into the courts.

The Supreme Court thus broadly laid down that Article 356 gives the jurisdiction to the President to dismiss a government on the grounds that it cannot be run in accordance with the Constitution. Further, that it is not possible for either the state government in office or for anyone else to find fault with the President's decision, whether or not the matter placed before the President was sufficient to justify the decision. But, on the other hand, one could challenge the correctness of the President's action on the ground that the power was exercised for an ulterior motive or for a malafide reason. If the power of Article 356 is being utilized to gain the political

upper hand, then the decision could be challenged. Thus, the area in which the courts could interfere was broadly defined.

The MP High Court judgment seems to have been used on these principles. In the 1977 case, the Supreme Court had said that if such a large majority of people had voted against the Congress government, then the imposition of Article 356 was justified. After all, losing a parliamentary election implies that a government has lost popular support. To allow such governments to continue in office amounts to condoning the existence of governments without the popular mandate, which is a negation of democracy—the basic attribute being electoral support.

And since it is the duty of the President under Article 356 to ensure continuance of a state government in accordance with the Constitution, he can appropriately declare President's rule in the circumstances. Therefore, it was correctly said that the 1977 decision was made on good and relevant grounds.

But in the MP case, the ground for the central government's action under Article 356 appears to be somewhat ill-founded. It seems to be based on the central government's fear that because of a deep relationship between the banned organisations like the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad], RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] and Bajrang Dal, the BJP's state government would perhaps not carry out the central directives. The central government must have thought, given that the task of the state governments is so crucial and sensitive, their political relationship with the banned organisations would make smooth functioning an unworkable proposition if the BJP governments were allowed to continue.

To my mind, this ground for dissolution of a state government does not fit in with the scheme of our Constitution. The people had elected these governments for a period of five years and if one does not have anything to prove that these governments ignored directives issued by the central government, then they cannot be removed. If Parliament passes a law which is required to be complied with by state governments and if a state government fails to do so then it can be removed. Our Constitutional scheme envisages the supremacy of Parliament in such cases.

But the reports I have read do not speak of any material placed before the high court which could prove that any central directive was violated by the state government. And if no directive was issued and no violation established, one can safely presume that the government was carrying on its function in accordance with the Constitution.

Thus, for all practical purposes, it can be implied that the BJP governments were dissolved on the mere suspicion that their relationship with the banned organisations would make them act unconstitutionally. This ground is untenable and also irrelevant for applying Article 356. And, if the ground is irrelevant, then the satisfaction based on the ground is also ill-founded.

And, therefore, prime facie, the MP High Court's judgment appears to be correct. Unless, of course, the Supreme Court votes otherwise because so many other factors are involved.

Unfortunately, Article 356 has been misused every so often. Why look for examples in the past: This time around, Himachal Pradesh had no problems—no communal riots, no firing, no killings, no demolitions—as compared to Maharashtra which suffered such large-scale violence. If the law and order fall-out of Ayodhya was the reason for the imposition of Article 356, then the yardstick should have been applied evenhandedly to all states. If it is claimed that the Center had acted in anticipation of fears about the capability of state governments to deal with the situation, then why this gross discrimination?

Let me recall what happened in my own state, Jammu and Kashmir, in 1986 when G.M. Shah was chief minister and I, the deputy chief minister. There were some minor communal disturbances in Jammu and in the valley. Some places of worship were attacked. The situation was, however, brought under control immediately. But the Congress made this an excuse and withdrew its support to the Shah government. A ground was thus created for action under Article 356 because the government was reduced to a hopeless minority. Although I happened to be the aggrieved party, I would not call that action unjustified. On the other hand, if the state government had been dismissed only on the ground of the law and order situation, the action would have been questionable. It is, however, a different matter that the Congress had no reason to withdraw support and betray the chief minister who belonged to another party.

The power vested in the President under Article 356 is an extraordinary one because ordinarily, every government has to be run in accordance with the Constitution. There has to be an elected assembly. But President's Rule takes away from the people the right to have an elected government—it is hitting at the Constitution, suspending it. It has to be then made out very strongly that the decision to suspend Constitutional bodies and dismiss popularly elected governments is based on valid grounds.

In his report on Center-state relations, Justice R.S. Sarkaria too emphasises this point. The imposition of Article 356 has to be in the rarest of rare cases, he says. If the government cannot be carried on because the majority of people in it have left it, that can be understood. But a law and order situation cannot be the ground for imposition of Article 356—unless, of course, you find that a state government is in league with those behind disruptions and subversive elements.

Safeguards against the misuse of Article 356 are ultimately dependent on the intellectual honesty of the members of the council of ministers. Our Constitution makers had assumed a certain level of political maturity and intellectual honesty in the law-makers of the land.

All told, the MP High Court judgment has set the right trend. A decision of the Central Government has been struck down as unjustifiable. It is a different matter whether the Supreme Court will agree or disagree with the MP High Court; at least it has set a precedent.

Government Plans on Ayodhya Said Alienating Muslims, Hindus

93AS08361 Bombay *THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA* in English 7 May 93 p 11

[Article by Shastri Ramachandaran: "More Problems Than Solutions"]

[Text] More than a month after Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao claimed that "the problem of Ayodhya has been solved" and "two trusts are being created to build two places of worship," the government finds itself bereft of the confidence as well as the circumstances to take any step towards the glibly promised goal. The government has now discovered, from the reactions to its preliminary noises on the subject, that what it sees as a solution could actually further complicate the vexatious issue. Neither the representatives of Hindutva nor the Muslim leadership is willing to give any quarter to the government. Both these sections have rejected the idea of the trusts to build a temple and mosque. Worse, they have made it abundantly clear that they will do all they can to frustrate the government's moves in this direction.

Narasimha Rao is stewing in a brew of his own making. It was at Surajkund, during the AICC [All India Congress Committee] session, that he had asserted: "The mandir-masjid issue is behind us and we should look to issues of development." He cited the fact that the government had acquired the land and trusts were being created, and went on to ask, "Where is the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] going to build its temple now?"

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] was first off the mark to warn that it will thwart any attempt by the government to build the temple. VHP leader Giriraj Kishore threatened that the banned organisation would set dates for a kar seva if the government created the trusts. He was forthright that a non-VHP body will not be allowed to build the Ram temple at Ayodhya. This invited a retort from Union Minister of State for Home Rajesh Pilot: "The days have gone when they (BJP and VHP) could do what they felt like. The days have come when whatever the law of the land permits."

However, Pilot could not elaborate on the government's plans to pursue its proposal to create the trusts for building the places of worship in Ayodhya. All he would say to the WEEKLY was: "The trusts would be set up very soon." He declined to indicate any dates and was unwilling to be drawn into any discussion on how the trusts would manage the reconstruction of the mosque and the building of a temple. Union Home Ministry officials are tightlipped when probed on where the funds

will come from and under what heads for this construction. Officials in the Union Law Ministry were cautious enough not to reveal the constitutional provisions and law under which the government could set up these trusts.

The Muslim leadership and those leading the forces of Hindutva are admittedly bitter foes and find little to agree upon. But the one point on which these two opponents see eye to eye is that a 'secular' state has no business to fund or build a temple and a mosque. The government stands rebuffed and alienated by the very sections it has sought to appease by suggesting the trusts. Both sections have made it known to the prime minister that they will oppose any government-sponsored attempt to build the mosque and the temple.

In the second week of April, representatives of the Muslim Personal Law Board met the prime minister and rejected all suggestions for rebuilding the demolished Babri Masjid. The delegation headed by the renowned Islamic scholar, Ali Mian, not only rejected the idea of a trust to build a mosque away from the original site but put forth a series of demands that show the Muslim mood to be no less uncompromising than that of the VHP.

The Board representatives demanded the withdrawal of the reference to the Supreme Court under Article 143 and wanted presidential assent for the Acquisition Bill (taking over the disputed sites) to be withheld. "It is against the spirit of the Constitution to acquire any place of worship and it is against the creed of a secular state to build places of worship" said a venerable member of the delegation.

The government's attempt towards building a temple, to steal the thunder of the Hindutva forces and rebuild the mosque to win the Muslim vote has come unstuck at several levels. The first, as already evident, is the outright rejection by the Muslim Personal Law Board and the VHP.

Secondly, its disingenuous and self-defeating attempt to split the ranks of the saints and Shankaracharyas. Only Chandraswami is bravely pursuing efforts to find some saints who would be willing to be roped into the trusts. So far his efforts have come a cropper. The Dwarakaapeeth Shankaracharya Swaroopanand Sarawati is willing to take on the VHP and lead efforts for building a temple but none of those who can opt to go with a Congress-created trust against the VHP are prepared to even discuss building the temple at a site other than where the idols have replaced the demolished Babri Masjid. There have been a series of sant sammelans, at Jhoteswar, Varanasi and elsewhere to test the mood for building a temple. At all these congregations, even those inclined towards the Congress found that the suggestion of building the temple at any site other than where the mosque stood will not be countenanced. The saints favouring the Congress want the mosque to be built at another site and Narasimha Rao has failed to persuade

the Muslim leadership to fall in line with his bid to appease the Hindutva hordes. In effect, the Congress can at best hope to build the temple on the terms of the VHP. Seizing this weakness, the VHP and sants have turned more belligerent and changed strategy. To drop their opposition to the trusts they are demanding not only the site of the Babri Masjid but also the charge of the disputed shrines in Varanasi and Mathura. This strategic shift is being canvassed by Sri Vamdeo, president of the Ram Janam Bhoomi Nyas Manch and Mahant Avaidyanath, the MP from Varanasi. This is a trap which the government can neither get into nor stay out of without losing face and votes.

In terms of acceptability of the proposal as well as the availability of credible characters, the trusts might be a non-starter.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the legal status of the proposal for the trusts is open to serious question. The trusts are in pursuit of the promise to rebuild the demolished mosque. But apart from the reference to the Supreme Court under Article 143, there are also cases against those who demolished the mosque. How can it be presumed, while the court's opinion on the reference and the orders in the contempt case are awaited, that the sites where the mosque and temple will be built, will conform to what the Supreme Court might have to say on the subject? How can the government anticipate the punishment and compensation the court may decide to award to the affected community? It is the court judgment and opinion that may eventually set the terms for deciding whether the Masjid should be reconstructed, and if so at which site.

The Centre has abdicated its political responsibility by referring the Ayodhya issue to the Supreme Court. It also failed in its constitutional responsibility to protect the Babri Masjid. Now, given the dictates of political expediency, the government is seeking to decide precisely those issues that cannot be taken up till the court hands down the directions.

The government has lost not just the confidence but even the negotiating space between the leadership of the Hindus and Muslims. The only way out perceived at one stage was passing the buck to the Supreme Court. When that attempt at solution only made for messier politics, Narasimha Rao chose to play the same game as the BJP and VHP by trying to mobilise sants and Shankaracharyas. Having failed in this venture to woo men of god for ungodly politics and weighed by compulsions that require him to act without awaiting what the court may have to say, he has turned a possible solution into another dimension of the problem. Rao's eventual accomplishment seems to be the creation of more problems in the name of solutions than solutions to the original problem.

Invocation of Article 356 by Government Seen Misuse of Power

93AS0836J Bombay *THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA* in English 7 May 93 pp 12-13

[Article by Shastri Ranachandaran: "Article 356: Nearing Its Nemesis?"]

[Text] Politics has often thwarted justice from being delivered. Now, when justice could determine the very course of politics by resolving fundamental issues, it is trapped between the law and the lawmakers. The controversy over Article 356, triggered by the judgment of the Madhya Pradesh high court, has resulted in a situation where those sworn to uphold the Constitution are actually defending their right to misuse its provisions.

It has never happened before. In the past, when a state ministry was dismissed, the assembly dissolved and President's Rule imposed under Article 356, it was seen as the climax of a political confrontation that had to be resolved only in the elections that would follow. Though the issue of dismissal of state governments went to the Supreme Court in 1977, the question of whether the Union government's action was open to judicial scrutiny has remained unsettled. In the 15 years since then it has not been considered an issue urgent enough to be resolved and Article 356 has been resorted to by successive governments with impunity and a brazen disregard for the Constitution as well as the consequences. All that counted in the decision to invoke this Article was whether it would be politically expedient in the interests of the party in power at the Centre to dismiss a state government. The Jabalpur verdict of April 2, quashing the Presidential proclamation of December 15, which dismissed the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] ministry in Madhya Pradesh under Article 356, has reopened the issue, signalling political consequences that are, perhaps, yet unforeseen.

The 2:1 decision of the three-judge Jabalpur bench of the MP high court held: "We are of the opinion that the satisfaction reached by the President in the case before us, on the advice of the cabinet, is based on circumstances not relevant for invoking Article 356 of the Constitution." The verdict was unambiguous that a "worsening of the law and order situation in a state due to a sudden outbreak of violence does not call for the extreme step of imposition of President's Rule" Unless the law and order situation made the "functioning of the government impossible in the state" to the satisfaction of the President, the proclamation was unwarranted, was the conclusion of the judges. The judges also mentioned that the imposition of President's Rule in another state, Himachal Pradesh, was "wholly uncalled for?"

The Union government has filed an appeal against the Jabalpur verdict in the Supreme Court and contended that the high court judgment was "contrary to law, without jurisdiction and materially unsustainable."

The BJP has filed petitions similar to the one of former Chief Minister Sundarlal Patwa in Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. When the Union government's appeal came up, the Supreme Court stayed the operation of the verdict quashing the Presidential order of Central rule in Madhya Pradesh. The court also transferred to itself the two petitions pending before the high courts of Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan challenging the dismissal of the BJP ministries in these states.

The dismissed chief ministers of these two states, Shanta Kumar and Bhairon Singh Shekhawat are confident that the Supreme Court verdict will be in their favour.

The Supreme Court will seek to settle the issues from a larger perspective. The impact of this will go beyond the dismissal of the three BJP ministries. This is evident from the fact that the Supreme Court stayed, until further orders, all proceedings that involve "substantially similar questions of law" relating to Article 356 pending in various high courts. The three-judge division bench also directed that all appeals arising from the MP high court verdict would be tagged on to cases relating to Karnataka and Nagaland involving interpretations of Article 356. These are pending for a decision by a nine-judge Constitution bench.

At least three critical questions are expected to be answered when the Supreme Court comes to its conclusions. Firstly, is the Union government's exercise of powers under Article 356 justiciable? Secondly, the definition of "Presidential satisfaction" and, thirdly, what would amount to a "breakdown of the constitutional machinery in a state." There are other broader questions and the merits of the verdict itself which find jurists and legal experts divided on the constitutional implications of the matter. Whatever their viewpoint, those who spoke to the WEEKLY are convinced that this would be a landmark case and would settle issues arising out of the misuse of Article 356.

H R Khanna, former judge of the Supreme Court, told the WEEKLY that so far there has been smug complacency on the misuse of Article 356. "This is the first time it has been called into question. Because of this and the question of how Article 356 is to be used, I hope there will be guidelines by the Supreme Court."

While Khanna declined to discuss the merits of the case and the verdict, he feels that if the presidential proclamation is held to be justifiable then the question is whether enough material was there when the decision to invoke Article 356 was made. "Another question is whether the order, dismissing the government and dissolving the assembly, remains effective? Or whether the government can be resuscitated, if the order is not effective. Any answer to these questions is not free from difficulty," adds Khanna. He is critical of the reckless resort to Article 356. "The propensity to impose President's Rule has increased more than five-fold. In the first 17 years it was imposed only 10 times. But in the last 17 or 18 years it has been resorted to 54 times. Such misuse

makes it very clear that the use of Article 356 is not for purposes contemplated by the framers of the Constitution but for the interests of the party in power."

He says that whether exercise of powers under Article 356 is justiciable or not has not been satisfactorily resolved. "Under Clause (5) of Article 356, inserted by the 38th Amendment, the imposition of President's Rule enjoyed immunity and was not liable to be questioned in a court of law. But this Clause (5) was repealed by the 44th Amendment. Whether the immunity afforded to the Article is scrapped or not is unclear. In 1977, in the Rajasthan case, petitions questioning the imposition of President's Rule were rejected by the then Supreme Court judges, Justice Y V Chandrachud and Justice P N Bhagwati. In another case in 1982, dealing with the proclamation of ordinances, Justice Chandrachud did not clearly enunciate whether the immunity under Clause (5) stood repealed or not."

Rajeev Dhavan, eminent legal expert, contends that the imposition of President's Rule cannot be likened to any other administrative action. The role of Parliament in President's Rule cannot be trivialised. After Parliament approves President's Rule, the decision is no longer that of the President.

Dhavan is of the view that there is an element of irreversibility in the dissolution of the house. In the present case, Dhavan feels that the high court should have confined itself to the limited question of whether the imposition of President's Rule was malafide or not and that there was no occasion for the judges to comment on President's Rule in Himachal Pradesh.

The Jabalpur judgment asserts that President's Rule is open to judicial review on the federal principles. Dhawan does not agree with this basis for judicial review.

Another former Supreme Court judge, R S Sarkaria, who headed the commission on Centre-state relations, feels that a dissolved assembly cannot be revived and elections are the only solution, when Parliament has ratified the presidential proclamation.

Former chief justice of the Supreme Court, P N Bhagwati, points out that there are two views on the status of the dismissed ministry and dissolved assembly. One view is that with the ministry already dismissed and assembly dissolved, the order is irreversible. The other view is that if the order is bad and consequently null and void, there is no question of reviving (the ministry and assembly) because there was no basis for the dismissal and hence the dismissal does not take effect.

Bhagwati told the WEEKLY that he does not see the present case as a confrontation between the judiciary and any other institution under the Constitution, be it the President, Union governments or Parliament. "Each organ created under the Constitution has to do its duty. And the judiciary is doing just that. The Supreme Court

examining the validity of the imposition of President's Rule is a constitutional function."

He asserted that no exercise of constitutional power is beyond the scrutiny of the courts and Article 356 is no exception. He, however, pointed out the areas to which judicial scrutiny could be limited. "Exercise of Article 356 requires that the President must be satisfied. This means the subjective satisfaction of the President. And subjective satisfaction can be challenged in a court of law. But the grounds for this are limited: the sufficiency of material which enabled subjective satisfaction cannot be examined, because then it would amount to a test of objective (and not subjective) satisfaction. But the court can examine if any material at all was there on the basis of which a reasonable person would come to that satisfaction."

So what is it that the court can examine?

"The court can certainly examine if commission of irrelevant, extraneous material is there; or omissions of relevant material that were not taken into account to arrive at that satisfaction," says Bhagwati. "The court can examine whether the satisfaction (of the President) was genuine or malafide. The court can examine if there was material but not if there was sufficient material and grounds."

He pointed out that the satisfaction arrived at has a basis and the burden is with the petitioner who is challenging that satisfaction and not with the Union government.

Perhaps no other case has seen opinion divided so sharply among jurists. Whether the case ends the misuse of Article 356 or not, its outcome is certain to cause political tremors and have far-reaching political and constitutional ramifications. The very fact that so many of the best legal minds, who are not openly aligned to either the Congress or the BJP, are so cautiously guarding their responses is an index of the political uncertainty the case has given rise to.

[Boxed item]

Article of Misuse

Dr Ambedkar had deep-rooted fears regarding the potential of abuse inherent in Article 356. While recommending the provisions of Article 356 to the Constituent Assembly he said, "I may say that I do not altogether deny that there is a possibility of this article being abused or applied for political purposes. But that objection applies to every part of the Constitution which gives power to the Centre to override the provinces. In fact, I share the sentiments expressed yesterday that the proper thing we ought to expect is that such articles will never be called into operation and that they would remain a dead letter..."

In point of fact, Article 356 has remained anything but that. It has instead been invoked 88 times to date in the various states since the promulgation of the Constitution on January 26, 1950.

Time and again it has been used with impunity, flouting democratic traditions with utter disregard for the fact that it is a set of provisions meant to take care of the failure of constitutional machinery at the state level, to be used only under extreme provocation. The Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State Relations (1983-1988) summed up the malafides behind the exercise of Article 356 when it alleged that its use had been motivated by considerations that had little to do with constitutional concerns and pointed out that it has instead been used by the Centre to:

1. Prevent opposition parties or groups from forming alternative governments. Examples of this abound starting as far back as 1953 in the case of PEPSU [expansion not given], followed by Andhra Pradesh in 1954, Kerala in 1965, Uttar Pradesh in 1969, Orissa in 1973, Kerala again in 1979 and Kashmir in 1986.
2. Dissolve legislative assemblies or keep them in a state of suspended animation. Hence we had the example of Gujarat in 1974 when the assembly was suspended but not dissolved. It was only under unrelenting pressure exerted by Morarji Desai that the assembly was dissolved and even so no elections were held. President's Rule continued for a total period of one year, four months and nine days.
3. Buy time to realign party strengths and to sort out intra-party differences or to resolve leadership crises: in 1989 the Congress, fearing that it would lose the elections in Karnataka, refused to let the Bommai ministry face the electorate. Instead, President's Rule was continued once again beyond the six-month period.
4. Dislodge state governments run by parties or coalitions other than the party at the Centre on pleas ranging from corruption to political instability, maladministration and law-and-order even though they enjoyed the confidence of their respective assemblies.

Thus we had the ignominious spectre of the Janata government enforcing President's Rule in nine states in April 1977—Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Himachal Pradesh and West Bengal. In 1980, with the Congress government coming to power, it was once again time to make a mockery of the provisions of Article 356 and the first act of the new government was to dissolve the assemblies in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Orissa, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu.

It must not be forgotten that neither in 1977 nor in 1980 was President's Rule recommended by the governors of any of the affected states.

In most cases the justifications of the ruling party issuing the proclamation have been obscure and unfounded. All

of which has resulted in a legacy of President's Rule that the Indian State could well do without. Some of these details are given below:

- The very first time President's Rule was imposed in India was on June 20, 1951, in the erstwhile East Punjab State.
- During the period from 1950 to 1967, President's Rule was imposed a total of 11 times in 17 years.
- Till 1977, this figure had risen to 59, the states accounting for 51 of these proclamations and the Union Territories for the remaining eight. The figure includes the mass dissolution of nine Congress majority state assemblies on April 30, 1977. It also includes six proclamations issued in states and Union Territories where President's Rule was already in force.
- Every state has been under President's Rule at one time or another.
- By 1990 various states had been under President's Rule cumulatively for 45 years—longer than the life of the republic.—Vrinda Walavalkar.

Postponement of State Elections Viewed

93AS0885B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 11 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Speculation on Elections in Four States"]

[Text] When responsible people at the government level make contradictory statements over a very important issue, they cause uncertainty, and if their statements are beyond the sphere of their authority, then the situation becomes suspicious and very complicated. A similar situation is created by the statements issued by Home Minister S.V. Chavan and Congress spokesperson V.N. Gadgil over the re-elections of the Vidhan Sabhas in the four former BJP-controlled [Bharatiya Janata Party] states. Mr. Gadgil said in Ajmer that in the four states, where the government was dismissed and presidential rule was established, Vidhan Sabha elections would be held in October. Presidential rule will end in these states on 15 June; therefore, it is being extended for six more months. At the same time, the home minister announced in Simla that no decision has been made about holding elections in these states, and a resolution is being introduced in Parliament to extend presidential rule. It does not matter what the reason is behind the contradictory statements issued by these two leaders; we have to call this situation frivolous and immature. This is bad for both the government's and the party's image. Only the Election Commission can make announcements about elections, and this organization asks the government to report about the independent, neutral, and peaceful environment, and then take action accordingly. In contrast, the party and the government are issuing contradictory statements, which is ridiculous.

There is nothing better in a democratic country than providing opportunities to the people for open and active involvement in the government process. This protects the democratic system, and democratic forces become more confident. But do the statements issued by Chavan and Gadgil point to such a development? Perhaps they do not. What developments led to this situation, that one announced that elections would be held in October, while the other said that no decision had been made? As for the question of extending presidential rule, if the atmosphere is not appropriate for holding elections, and there is a danger of disruption of law and order, then one should announce this openly, and should not hesitate to extend presidential rule for another six months. However, the actions of these leaders clearly show that something is fishy, and they are traveling around the country to see how people are feeling, and are looking for a barometer to measure the people's vote, so that they can make a decision. Perhaps they are trying to see how other parties react to their statements. It is possible that the statements about holding elections in these four states and extending presidential rule are part of their strategy before their next convention in Amethi. It has been learned that they are also thinking about discussing the Panchayat's [village council] partyless parliament government system and the issue of holding Panchayat elections during that convention.

An election is a political process which helps form a government. All kinds of goals and questions are raised during the election. But these do not point to what the people want. It is a mistake to elect a smaller Panchayat for a larger Panchayat and consider the results to be the preference of the people. There is no room for discussion about the fact that only 50 percent of the people vote here and that, of these voters, more than half are illiterate and ignorant. The fact that these people understand the game of politics is another matter. In addition, voting is influenced by caste, community, money, greed, and pressure. The situation of Panchayat elections is worst of all. It is not necessary to mention here who gets whose vote in these elections. Therefore, considering the votes given to one party as a crutch that can be used for Vidhan Sabha elections is analogous to keeping one's self in total darkness. It is not easy to read the minds of the modern voter because, until he enters the voting booth, he keeps his decision secret. He does not tell who he is going to vote for. What we mean to say is that they may hold Panchayat elections; however, they should forget about any political benefits. At the same time, they should not discuss unnecessary issues in this present situation. If the Congress wants to take advantage of it, then the BJP, Janata Dal, left wing parties, and other regional parties will not hesitate to use all kinds of tricks to reap the rich harvest of votes. This would only encourage unhealthy competition, and the situation will deteriorate further. It is important for the party in government to take careful steps in this situation. The Election Commission should see the seriousness of the situation, and should show its nonpartisan stand and make sure that the elections are held on time, so that the

democratic forces will be self-confident. The Election Commission will also be able to keep itself above reproach with this step.

Election Commissioner Seen Disregarding Constitution

93AS0885C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 13 May 93 p 4

[Article by R.C. Pandit: "Sheshan is Not Above the Law and the Constitution"]

[Text] Discussion last week concentrated on the impeachment hearing against Justice V. Ramaswami. In the history of India's Parliament, this is the first time a proposal has been introduced to take action against a Supreme Court judge. The views of both the government and the opposition will have a decisive effect on the future. All of the proceedings will be held in the Lok Sabha, where a decision will be made, to be followed by a decision in the Rajah Sabha. However, public debates have made this situation very serious and have made us believe that an impossible incident has taken place. If we pay close attention, such incidents are heard and seen almost daily now. Members of the government and the opposition have expressed their opinions about not giving enough importance to this issue. However, now that the issue has been brought up, Parliament cannot do anything but follow up on it. The situation of Congress (I) seems to be precarious because of this incident. On Friday, when the question of postponing the parliamentary working committee's meeting was brought up, everyone was curious to learn more about this issue. It has been learned that the pressure of Tamil Nadu leaders and legislators living in Delhi is so great on P.V. Narasimha Rao that he has asked his special sources not to give too much attention to this case. He argued that if the Congress (I) endorses the case against a Tamil judge, then it is possible that Tamil-speaking people will turn against the Congress Party. This would directly affect the Congress Party's election strategy. They were presenting this reasoning on one side, and at the same time, V. Panrubhan, well-known legislator Manishanker Ayyer, and other leaders expressed the opinion that a directive should be issued to the Congress legislators, so that they would vote against the resolution condemning Mr. Justice Ramaswami. In spite of all this, some veteran legislators from Karnataka, Kerala, and Andhra Pradesh expressed their opinions during a conversation that they should not oppose this resolution. These veteran leaders also argued that, if the party does not express some concrete opinion about financial irregularities, then this would be representative of the party philosophy and its wishy-washy policies. It would be better if the legislators were allowed to vote according to their own wishes and, instead of giving too much attention to it, efforts should be made to learn about various legislator's opinions. In writings on this issue, leaders of Congress (I) have expressed the opinion that the policy of pressure should not be adopted in voting for the resolution in Parliament. They feel that at this important time, when party

election strategy is being formulated, no opinion should be formed that may hurt the party at the time of the election.

In any case, it has been learned that Congress members will be present in the Lok Sabha on Monday; however, how they will vote will be left to their individual decisions. In a meeting of the leaders, the Lok Sabha president decided that Ramaswami should not be present, and that he should send a lawyer in his defense. It was also decided in the meeting that Marxist leader Somnath Chatterji, who is one of the famous lawyers, should present the resolution about this case with his comments. If all this happens, then it would be impossible to say whether or not the final decision would be in support of the judge. Justice V. Ramaswami has said about this case that the Parliament members will adopt a lawful stand on this issue, because this vote is an act; Parliament is making a decision about the future of a judge and about the justice system. This proposal could be recalled without any discussion, and the reputation of this glorious institution could be called into question in the future.

It is important to mention here that Justice Ramaswami is accused of financial misappropriation. The second largest party in the opposition, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], has asked other opposition parties for their support in its proposal to impeach Justice V. Ramaswami. They do not want the image of our legal system to be stigmatized. At the same time, T.N. Sheshan, the election commissioner, is becoming an important subject of discussion. The opposition has accused Sheshan similarly. They charge that his decisions to postpone elections have been made whimsically. The Janata Dal and left wing parties are showing great interest in starting impeachment proceedings against Sheshan, and Jaswant Singh of the BJP says that if his party opposes Sheshan's actions, it is because it wants to establish the nonpartisan status of the election commission. Therefore, they did not express any opinions in a hurry against the case against Sheshan. They are upset at the postponement of the by-elections of the Kalka Vidhan Sabha; however, we all know what is happening. The Congress (I), which had been supporting Sheshan, is angry at him because of the decision made by Bhajan Lal's lobby.

Last week, the Janata Dal and the left wing members of the Lok Sabha demanded that a case against the chief election commissioner be registered in the House. The accusation was that Sheshan considered himself above the law and the Constitution. Among those who have demanded this action are former Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar, Ramvilas Paswan, Chanderjit Yadav, Nitish Kumar, D.P. Yadav, Srikhant Jain, M.K. Chatterji, and Inderjit Gupta. In addition, the Parliamentary Operations Minister, Mr. Vidhya Charan Shukla, said that no person, even if he is the chief election commissioner, is considered above the rules or the Constitution. This has given a lot of encouragement to Sheshan's opponents. It is clear that during the next week, Congress

may support this demand, because the Congress's additional lobby is not in support of Sheshan anymore. It is important to mention here that among the people opposing Sheshan is former Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar, who appointed him to this position.

It is understood that the prime minister discussed these two issues with President Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma and tried to get his opinion about it. It is expected that the prime minister will decide to keep himself miles away from this various complex issue.

When the Lok Sabha chairman, Mr. Shivraj Patil, asked opposition leaders about the issue of the Janata Dal's division, Lal Krishna Advani, the opposition leader, expressed his opinion that the division of political parties should be considered a one-time action and not an ongoing process. In his opinion, there are specific flaws in the constitutional articles related to changing parties that require clarification by the chairman.

Mr. Advani said that this article should be implemented in such a way that the tendency of changing parties can be stopped. It should not be defined in such a way that this tendency is encouraged. He further said that in the tenth clause, there is no mention of "non-aligned" members. In the past, however, the officials who made the decision considered the members who were expelled from a party to be non-aligned. According to Advani, there does not seem to be any reason to give up this process and give a new definition to this clause. He said that the tenth clause does not allow non-party legislators to join any party. However, the candidate has permission to join any party within six months of his nomination. The reason for this difference is that, when comparing a nominated candidate to a non-party candidate, the latter was elected without a party mandate. The non-aligned legislator has no popular mandate; therefore, as accepted by the legal experts, such legislators should have to form a new political party or join another one. It should be remembered that some Janata Dal members were expelled from Parliament in 1991 and 1992, and that discussion about this is still going on.

Muslim League Leader Expresses Fear of BJP Rule

93AS0887C New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 17 May 93 p 10

[Article by Safdar Rizvi: "Seth: Silence Cannot Be Maintained Because of the Fear of BJP Coming to Power"]

[Text] New Delhi, 16 May—Ibrahim Suleiman Sait, leader of the Muslim League Party, said that a Muslim cannot stay quiet just because it would make the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] strong. The BJP is already very strong. It has governments in four states. It has managed to tell our prime minister that Muslims should have a mosque exactly where the Babri Masjid was situated, and that there should be no compromise on this.

Ibrahim Suleiman Sait, who returned from a visit to Uttar Pradesh recently, said that the people are heavily in support of it. He said that Muslims support the decision made by the Muslim Personal Law Board and the council. Mr. Sait is the organizer of the seven-member committee of the All India Muslim Personal Law Board. A representative committee under his leadership visited a few districts of Uttar Pradesh (Kanpur, Lucknow, Azamgarh, and Maunath) recently. He was accompanied by Mujahid-ul Islam Qasimi; the Council's General Secretary, Abdul Wahab Khilji; and Jafferyab Jailaini, organizer of the Babri Masjid Action Committee.

Mr. Sait said that the people responded well during his trip. The purpose of the trip was to establish contacts and meet people. They met specific people and held meetings at different places. They also succeeded in establishing the Milli Council. They informed people of the purpose of the Milli Council and of the talks held with the prime minister. How did he know the people's response was very positive towards him? Mr. Sait said, "When people cheer and raise shouts, we know what kind of response that is. At some places, people came out in the thousands."

A representative group of the Personal Law Board met with the prime minister to discuss the Babri Masjid, and to present a communique to him. The Board called this their last meeting with the prime minister. Mr. Sait also said that he had given his message to the prime minister for the last time. When asked if the prime minister would meet again with him on this issue, Mr. Sait said, "We cannot divorce the prime minister by yelling the word 'divorce' three times. Whenever the prime minister of this country wants, we will meet him."

What did Mr. Sait tell the people at the meeting? Mr. Sait said, "I told them the same thing that I always say. The Babri Masjid will be built at exactly the same place, that the government should resume its control over the area, and that the Board does not accept the advice based on the Supreme Court's one-pronged formula. However, the intellectuals and the imams of Fatehpuri and Jama Masjid say that the Board does not have public support." Is that true? He said, "Let them say whatever they want to say. However, it is contrary to the truth. The Personal Law Board is the only representative Muslim organization with full popular support. It represents all kinds of people. All religious people, political leaders, intellectuals, and parties support it. Tell me, how many people are in support of the intellectuals? We have traveled everywhere. If anyone wants to know how many people are supporting us, they need only come and look at us."

In response to Jama Masjid assistant Syed Ahmed Bukhari's claim that the Board is moving very slowly, Mr. Sait asked why he should shed blood by bringing people into the streets without any reason. He said that he wants peace, and that he would present his demands peacefully to this government. He said that he wants justice. The mosque that was torn down would be built

again. "We will continue telling the prime minister that he made a promise. He must fulfill his promise to rebuild the Babri Masjid." In response to a question about how he would force this issue, Mr. Sait said, "I will not retreat. I have already made up my mind, and I presented my side to the prime minister in our last meeting." When asked whether the prime minister had abandoned plans to rebuild the Babri Masjid during the meeting, Mr. Sait said that this was totally wrong. "We did not discuss anything with the prime minister except building the Babri Masjid. All of these are efforts to give me a bad name. The prime minister did not say anything, except that he would think about it and see what he could do. Mr. Sait also said that there is no bickering within the Personal Law Board. However, it is openly being said that the board members are angry about the appointment of the seven-member committee, because they were not consulted on any issues. Mr. Sait also said that there is no difference between the board and Milli Council members.

Some secular people believe that the demand to rebuild the Babri Masjid exactly at the original site will only strengthen the BJP. Should we give up this demand just because of that? Mr. Sait replied, "That is wonderful. We shall strengthen the BJP! Does this party not have 119 members in the Lok Sabha? What more does it need to become stronger? Does the BJP not have governments in four states? How can it become any stronger? They say that one should not discuss the Muslims, or it will cause a disruption of the peace. They also advise not discussing the Constitution, because this would strengthen the BJP. This is a defeatist mentality. We want to live with dignity in this country. We want to live with our rights. We do not want to spread hatred, like the communalists. We do not want people to fight with each other."

Mr. Sait believes that if there is strong will and sincerity, the Babri Masjid issue can be resolved through talks. However, he says that either the government or other groups should take the initiative. The Muslims were shortchanged; therefore, they should be given something in exchange. Whatever is presented to them will be considered. When asked if he believes that Muslims did not get a fair deal, Mr. Sait said, "That is a totally ridiculous question. After talking for such a long time, they are saying that Muslims did not get justice. That is awful. These journalists really ask strange questions. The Babri Masjid was destroyed, and a temple was built there. People were given permission to visit the temple. There were riots in the whole country. Muslims were killed. And you are asking me if there was injustice against Muslims? This is just like wounding someone who is already wounded and asking him if it hurts."

Mr. Sait said about the trust being established for construction of the Babri Masjid that the government would never contact such trusts. He added that the Board has clearly announced that no Muslim will join the trust being established for the building of the mosque. When asked if the people would accept the decision, since the Muslim leadership has failed, Mr. Sait

said, "I do not believe the Muslim leadership has failed. Even Syed Shabuddin has not failed. We have done everything possible. We staged sit-ins and demonstrations, and did everything else. All we did not do was bring the people into the streets. We did not do that, because the prime minister, the National Union Federation, the UP [Uttar Pradesh] government, and the political parties continued to tell us that they would defend the Babri Masjid. However, we were duped." Mr. Sait believes that the government should dismiss the Manipur government.

Congress (I), RSS Relations Viewed

Dal Detects Collusion

93AS0876A Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
20 May 93 p 7

[Article: "Rao Government Colluding With RSS, Says Dal"]

[Text] New Delhi, May 19—The Allahabad High Court judgement, staying the ban on the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] by the P.V. Narasimha Rao Government, according to Janata Dal [JD] spokesman Hari Kishore Singh, has exposed the Rao Government.

"We have all along maintained that the Rao Government has been in collusion with the RSS and allied groups, which is what led to the demolition of the Babri Masjid." The fact that the Rao Government failed to take appropriate legal action against the RSS after banning it shows that it was not sincere in its banning intentions, Mr Singh said.

Had the Government moved immediately the tribunal on unlawful activities prevention as pointed out by the high court, the ban would not have been so easily stayed, Mr Singh said. There is still time and the Government should fulfill the legal lacunae so that they do not come in the way of enforcing the ban, he added.

Mr Singh said that he had reliable information that the "Prime Minister is in constant touch with the RSS headquarters which is why he has been unable to check the activities of the organisation." "Mr Rao is in touch with the RSS HQ personally, not through Chandraswami," Mr Singh charged.

Commenting on the forthcoming Congress(I) session in Amethi on the panchayat raj, Mr Singh said that it would be "nothing but a farce, as unproductive and sterile an exercise as the party's Surajkund session."

The JD spokesman accused the Congress(I) of trying to hijack the panchayat raj idea and "putting unnecessary burden on the soul of the late Rajiv Gandhi in giving him credit for it."

He contended that the idea was first laid down by Balwant Rai Mehta, Gujarat Chief Minister in 1958. The details of the idea have been recorded in the report

submitted by the late Mr Mehta and "it was the R. K. Hegde Government in Karnataka which first implemented the idea in its true form," Mr Singh said while questioning the basis on which the Congress(I) was giving its own leaders credit for it.

Priyanka: In a significant statement, Mr Singh observed that the Amethi exercise by the Congress(I) is "actually aimed at roping Priyanka Gandhi into politics; she will be made the Youth Congress(I) chief," he said.

RSS Keeps Low Profile

93AS0876B Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
20 May 93 p 9

[Article by Shyam Khosla: "RSS 'Shakhas' Prefer To Lie Low"]

[Text]

Because Discretion is Better

New Delhi—The RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] is in no hurry to revive its "shakhas"—a daily assembly of swayamsevaks under the saffron flag for physical and mental training—even though the Allahabad High Court has stayed the ban imposed on the organisation by the Union government.

It obviously does not want to act in haste and repent at leisure. The Sangh has assiduously built an underground network of informal "shakhas" in the form of football and volleyball clubs under the past five months to re-establish its contacts with the swayamsevaks. It is in no mood to expose this underground machinery in the fact of uncertainty about the future course of events.

The tribunals set up under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act is at present hearing arguments for and against the ban and is likely to give its verdict in the first week of June. There are also reports that the union government may approach the Supreme Court to obtain a stay on the Allahabad High Court order.

Prof. Rajendra Singh, joint general secretary of the RSS, says it will be better to await the tribunal's verdict before taking any precipitate action. He is, however, confident of a favourable judgment from the tribunal.

The Lucknow bench of the Allahabad High Court, he points out, is also hearing a petition challenging the validity of the Act under which the ban was imposed. The RSS, he says, is the only organisation which has challenged the Act in the court. The ULFA [United Liberation Front] and LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] which were also banned under the same Act did not bother to approach the judiciary.

Welcoming the Allahabad court's judgment as a victory of democracy and re-assertion of independence of judiciary, the RSS leader said the proceedings in the Allahabad High Court had shown that the government had no case against the RSS. Although senior BJP [Bharatiya

Janata Party] and VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] leaders were arrested—albeit without solid reasons—after the December 6 happenings no RSS leader was mentioned in the FIR [first information report]. Even then it was the RSS which was banned, he added.

Prof. Singh said that in the 1984 anti-Sikh riots senior Congress-I leaders were mentioned in the FIRs as accused but no one thought of banning the Congress. "Why then ban the RSS when no RSS swayamsevak has even been accused of anything," he asked.

The RSS was banned, he observed, to appease communal Muslims.

That the organisations was innocent had been brought out by the court. The operative part of the judgment, which he made available to *INDIAN EXPRESS* on Wednesday, said the law was clear that the notification banning the organisation should have mentioned the reasons for the same. Since the Centre failed to do so, the court stayed the ban until the tribunal confirmed the government's order.

Prof. Singh said all the punitive actions taken by the government after banning the organisation were illegal. He wanted the accounts to be defreezed and the seals of Sangh offices removed immediately.

Top leaders of the RSS are likely to meet shortly to finalise its strategy. By all accounts it has been a non-ban. Senior leaders like Bala Saheb Deoras and Prof. Singh had been holding the fort in RSS offices at Nagpur and Delhi respectively. Although other leaders went underground initially, gradually general secretary H. V. Seshadri and his deputy K. S. Sudersan started moving about openly and staying in the Jhandewala headquarters of the Sangh.

Stay Disapproved

93AS0876C Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
20 May 93 p 8

[Article: "Severe Discomfiture"]

[Text] The judgment by a division bench of the Allahabad High Court staying the ban on the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) until it was confirmed by the tribunal set up under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, must come as a severe embarrassment to the Government. This appears to be particularly so in the light of the observation by the judges that "we find that the latter part of the impugned notification fails to satisfy the mandatory requirement of law and hold it to be bad." What is worse, this is not the first time that a court has set aside a drastic step taken by the Union Government in the wake of the developments in Ayodhya on December 6 last year. On January 10 this year, a special court ordered the release of six leaders of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP)—including L. K. Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi and Ashok Singhal—arrested following the events. It was

not just the release which was a discomfiture for the Union Government; much more so was the special magistrate's observation that the prosecution had not only "failed to establish" any prima facie case against those arrested but that the investigating agencies appeared "more preoccupied with involving (them) in the conspiracy to demolish the disputed structure (in Ayodhya) instead of proving the charges of arousing communal passions on which they were arrested."

The Supreme Court has no doubt granted a stay on the operation of the Madhya Pradesh High Court's order proclaiming the Union Government's dismissal of the Madhya Pradesh Government on December 15, 1992, invalid. Nevertheless, the Madhya Pradesh High Court's order and the two other judicial verdicts discussed above reinforce the impression that the Union Government has been utterly clumsy in its handling of the developments related to the December 6 incidents. Such display of ineptitude in connection with a matter which has obviously been exercising it a great deal will no doubt further undermines its standing which has already been considerably eroded by its failure to grapple with the serious problems facing the country.

The basic lack of understanding and efficiency which explains the failure of the Union Government and the Congress party which runs it, in the other areas, also accounts for their inability to cope with the Ayodhya developments. Past experience shows that organisations like the RSS cannot be countered by administrative actions like bans. The challenge they pose has to be met politically. The Government and the Congress either fail to realise this or are incapable of devising a political response. Even the hamhanded administrative response they have come out with cannot stand the scrutiny of courts. In these circumstances, it will not be surprising if the RSS and allied organisations continue to grow and the Government increasingly appears to be inept and fumbling.

RSS Vindicated

93AS0876D Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
21 May 93 p 9

[Article: "No Evidence Against RSS Produced"]

[Text] New Delhi—Concluding the arguments on behalf of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) before the one-man tribunal headed by Justice P.K. Bahri of the Delhi High Court, adjudicating on the ban on RSS, counsel for the sangh, R.P. Bansal, on Thursday submitted that the Government had so far produced absolutely nothing to indicate that any member of the RSS committed any unlawful activity.

Counsel for the Government, R.K. Anand concluded his arguments on Wednesday wherein he stated that the leaders of the RSS, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal exhorted volunteers to reach Ayodhya on December 6, 1992. They had made inflammatory speeches leading

to the demolition of the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid, and break-out of communal riots in different parts of the country.

The three organisations were banned by a Government notification on December 12, 1992 under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act. And according to the provisions of the Act any ban is to be confirmed by a tribunal within six months of the notification. The tribunal was set up in January 1993 and it had to give its order before June 10.

On Thursday at the conclusion of the arguments by the counsel for RSS, Justice Bahri directed that the tribunal would sit on Saturday also and all arguments would have to be concluded by May 24.

Quoting the constitution of the RSS, Bansal said it did not believe in promoting hatred or illwill towards any community or group of persons. In the view of the RSS, Muslims are brothers of Hindus, but it believed that the Muslims should live in this country as Indian Muslims, not as Pakistani, Iranian or Turkish Muslims. Some Muslims as well as Christians were also members of the RSS, he added.

The RSS was always opposed to partition and it believed in one country and one culture and pointed out that the sangh does not believe in minoritism and in giving any preferential treatment to any community on the basis of religion, race or caste.

Congress (I) Seen Facing Critical Period After By-Election Losses

93AS0907B Varanasi *AJ in Hindi* 26 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Congress' Test of Fire"]

[Text] Our country's largest party after 108 years of political experience is surrounded by serious problems now. Its situation is worsening due to financial misappropriations, international pressure, and conspiracies. The questions raised by the Ayodhya incident have grown to dangerous proportions now, and it has failed to find solutions to them. The problems of farmers, laborers, and the poor have increased. The party that brought the right to vote to 18-year olds is ignoring them also. One hundred million young people in this country are disappointed and bitter because of unemployment. The five year plans are in operation, but in name only, because the facts are different. After implementing seven five year plans, the country has not reached a position to take off. There is internal strife at every level of the Congress Party, and no one is hesitating to pull another's leg. Even its cooperating parties have started to avoid the Congress Party. This is clear from the elections in Tripura and Gujarat and the by-elections in Gujarat. All kinds of coalitions and mergers are also proving to be useless. The recent by-elections in eight states are hinting towards major challenges for the Congress Party. All in all, the situation is becoming contrary to the Congress Party, which now has no time to do anything, due to

internal strife and accusations and counter-accusations among its members. The Congress spokesman, Vithal Gadgil, may appear satisfied, calling the Jalandhar seat a great victory. These leaders should try to understand how the people of the country have begun to view the Congress Party.

This is not the Congress of old. It does not have leaders that could be called leaders in a real sense. Those who are capable have been pushed into the margin. No one listens to them, and they are not given an opportunity to work for the interests of the party. The philosophers who could provide vision to the party have also been pushed aside. Since the sixties, the perspective of Congress has changed. Instead of serving the people, it started to believe that its only duty was to run the government. Because of this mentality, it changed its methods to attain the government. Instead of services and making sacrifices, Congress became a place of corruption, fraud, and the power of wealth. For the most part, people of this ilk managed to become leaders. While Congress built a ladder to the government, its organizational structure continued to become weaker. Any party's basis is its organization. The stronger the organization, the stronger the party. As a result of all this, in the Congress, the same old people are trying to establish their identity. Be it Bihar, Orissa, or Haryana, the situation is prevalent everywhere. In contrast, the leaders are ignoring the need for strengthening the people's support. Narayan Dutt Tiwari in Uttar Pradesh [UP] is a living example of this tendency. He is not only popular in Uttar Pradesh, but also has the ability to increase popular support for Congress. Even after knowing all this, he has been kept out of UP politics. Is this not an unfortunate development for the Congress Party?

A Congress convention is being held in Kathura next week. They will discuss the challenges that the party is facing, as well as the idea of panchayat raj. The group of dissatisfied people are ready to attack the party leadership. The Congress leader, Arjun Singh, has demanded that the results of the by-elections be discussed thoroughly during the convention. Such results have not only written the future of Chiman Bhai Patel, chief minister of Gujarat, but also have put question marks on the futures of the chief ministers of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Haryana. This convention could definitely be decisive for Narasimha Rao, the party president, and the prime minister. That is, if he makes a decision after full consideration. There is still some time. The future is full of challenges. There are to be elections in four states. They must go to the people instead of staying in the government. They have to make their base in the villages and bring young people to the front. Only then can the Congress Party stay; otherwise, the shack of the Congress Party will be destroyed in the BJP hurricane, and all the action at No. 10 Janpath will be worthless.

Communal Tensions Seen Root of Violent Incidents, Clashes

93AS0906A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 25 May 93
p 4

[Article by Madhu Limaye: "Fanatic Muslims, Hindus For Sale, and the Bombay Explosions"]

[Text] The Hindus are very proud of their heritage. They cite their ancient civilizations with great pride. However, they have never demonstrated unusual love for their country in their long history. The Hindus have neither a real love for their society, nor do they have any special affection for a region, language group, faction, or caste. A Hindu is closest unto himself, and his interest is focused mainly on himself and his close family. Undoubtedly, there can be some exceptions to this rule, and some of them have been exemplary. But the great zealot of Indian civilization, Kanahayalal Maniklal Munshi, has expressed concern about the lack of Hindus' love for their country and their tendency to be engrossed in their lower-level devotions.

The RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Singh] family is propagating the ideal of a Hindu nation of "five bonds." These five bonds are geography, caste, religion, culture, and language. Only those people who meet the criteria of the five bonds can be citizens of the Hindu nation. Non-Hindus, who do not meet the criteria of these bonds, are outside of this nation. Guru M.S Gololkar, the chief philosopher and religious guru of the RSS, declared about non-spiritual Hindus that "they should stop living like foreigners. Otherwise, they have to live totally under the control of the Hindus. They will have no rights and will not be able to demand any special privileges. They will have no privileges, not even citizens' rights. They shall have no other alternative. We are an ancient nation, and we should treat the foreigners living in this country as all the old nations do." (M.S. Gololkar, "We Are Our Nationhood Defined," 4th ed., Nagpur, 1947). His ideal was Nazi Germany.

Guru Gololkar wanted Hindus to give up selfishness and narrow-mindedness and expand their love for their country. He insulted Jayachand Rathor, Man Singh Chander Rao Morey, Sumen Singh, and the descendants of such people. Therefore, it can be hoped that the RSS family, which has been in existence for six decades and claims to have hundreds of thousands of members, must have influenced the Hindus and created "selfless and patriotic citizens of a Hindu nation."

What is the truth? Did the RSS, when it got a taste of government, present a better example than any other party? Are most of its ministers not involved in corruption? Have they not filled their safes? Can we say that these high-level leaders have led a morally clean life? There are some exceptions, such as Khushabahu Thakre, who renounced worldly goods and remained unmarried all his life, devoting himself totally to his ideals. But exceptions only prove the rule. The so-called members of the Hindu nation do not have any love for our country.

They are greedy, hungry for money, and are ready to sell their motherland for money, exactly as they have been doing throughout their whole deplorable history.

The RSS family has been successful in inciting the anti-Muslim emotions of Hindus; however, it was unsuccessful in making Hindus patriotic and responsible citizens. During the months of December and January, when the shops and business places of Muslims were looted in Bombay, not only poor Hindus but also middle-class Hindus took part. Many eyewitnesses have told me of this. The fact is that it was Thakre's Shiv Sena people who organized this looting. Once the citizens acquire such bad habits, there is no guarantee that their habits will be limited to looting Muslim-owned shops and homes only. Soon after the Bombay riots, the local railway engineers went on strike, and a crowd gathered near Churchgate. There were many anti-social elements in that crowd, and they attacked many fancy shops in the area. They looted expensive gadgets, clothes, saris, and other things that were being showcased in those stores, and Bombay's middle class participated in this looting once again. Can the RSS family and its associated institutions, which want to control the lack of patriotism, fill the people with appropriate nationalist feelings?

I am raising this question because many horrible incidents have taken place in our country since 6 December 1992. The Babri Masjid in Ayodhya was torn down in the presence of top leaders of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], RSS, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, and other parties of the RSS family. When this plan was being implemented, police officers and members of Kalyan Singh's government stood by as silent spectators. The next day, all Muslim homes around the mosque were destroyed. As a result, the cities of Bhopal, Surat, Ahmadabad, and Bombay began to burn, and a dreadful cycle of revenge and counter-revenge started.

Daud Ibrahim told his close associates in the criminal world that they must do something to avenge the riots that took place after the destruction of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya.

Atal Bihari Bajpai, Lal Krishna Advani, and Sundar Singh Bhandari have said a million times that there was no connection between the destruction of the Babri Masjid and the 12 March blasts. The Congress Party and the investigators in Bombay are also trying to create misunderstandings in this area, because they are afraid that if the truth is revealed, then the image of the Central and state governments will be stigmatized. Therefore, they are telling the naive journalists that the smuggled items began to be unloaded on the coasts in August 1992—in other words, long before the destruction of the Babri Masjid in December. However, what kind of goods were smuggled before 6 December? Silver, gold, contraband drugs, and other things were smuggled even before August 1992. India's western coast has been a center of activity for the smugglers; however, Daud Ibrahim announced talks about revenge after the destruction of the Babri Masjid. Smuggling at a heavy rate took place

on the nights of 2-3 February and 6-7 February, when 7,000 kilograms of RDX were brought in. These explosives, brought in installments, were used in the destructive Bombay blasts. Those who brought the explosives via the ocean and those who carried out the blasts were not Pakistani Muslims; they were Indian Muslims. Regardless of how inappropriate and bad their actions were, they received inspiration for these acts from the Babri Masjid's destruction. What can we say about the people who helped unload these materials, stored them, helped get them through customs posts, and brought them to Bombay?

A journalist from Alibagh wrote that each of the customs officials who helped get the RDX through the customs checkpoints received 760,000 rupees. It should be remembered that before this, the bribe of 400,000 rupees was determined for smuggling silver. Since these were explosive chemicals, a deal was agreed upon at one million rupees, and at the end, they agreed on 760,000 rupees. The police had to be satisfied with silver bricks. It was also said that these officials and the Memon brothers, who arranged for the explosives, had regular meetings. It was also said that when the Hindu customs officials learned that this load did not contain silver but explosives, they asked for additional money from Daud Ibrahim. According to another correspondent, six sub-inspectors were arrested under TADA [Terrorists and Disruptive Activities]. According to another news source, six other people were arrested for bringing RDX to the storage site. All of the people arrested in this deal are Hindus belonging to different casts, including brahmins and marathas. These did not include backward castes only. They had no reason except pure greed and selfishness. Did the members of the RSS family's Hindu nation show any patriotism or respect for their motherland?

It is a truth, albeit a bitter one, that Hindus are generally apathetic about the interests of the country, except during short periods. Since the first invasion of the Arabs and the Turks, and until Western supremacy was established in India, the Hindus had willingly been weapons in the hands of foreign rulers. Mahatma Gandhi's non-cooperation and civil disobedience were great efforts to change the centuries-old slave mentality of Hindus and those who changed to other religions from Hinduism.

Kanahayalal Maniklal Munshi, the Hindu resurrectionist, accused Buddhists of universalism, conspiring with foreign invaders, and helping the Arab invaders. However, this is a biased description. Religious brahmins have also been very eager to serve the invaders and foreign rulers. The historians, describing the Arab Muslims' attack on Sindh, wrote that "Mohammed Bin Qasim arrived there with 12,000 soldiers. When he transferred rule to another person, he had 50,000 soldiers. Sindhis joined his army in large numbers and fought against their fellow religious followers with great zeal."

Buddhists and people of lower castes, who were victims of social discrimination in the Hindu majority environment, must have cooperated with Mohammed Bin Qasim willingly. However, the brahmins also helped him. One historian wrote, "Mohammed Bin Qasim showed a great respect for the brahmins. He gave them medals, prizes, expensive gifts, and clothes to honor them. Mohammed Bin Qasim let them remain in the positions in which they were serving during the time of the displaced brahmin rulers. He made those positions hereditary. During Dahir's rule, they began to receive three percent of the total tax again. He also appointed some ministers and advisors from among them and gave them some defense responsibilities also. His trust in them was appropriate, because these brahmin advisers helped him win many territories and generally helped him govern" (Mohammed Atik Siddiqi, "Indo-Pak History of Muslims," New Edition, 1992, New Delhi, p. 23).

The foreign Arab, Turkish, and western empires could not have been established so strongly in India and stayed if the large majority here was not apathetic and some people had not actively helped them. The Bengal army, which, under the British leadership, controlled the region between Burma and Peshawar, was mostly brahmins and thakurs. The RSS family talks about building character. I believe that courage and honesty are two very important ingredients of a good character. The people of the RSS family have not shown any great courage in difficult times. Many of them submitted pardon petitions. After they get into government, most of the ministers and leaders cannot control their greed for making money through corrupt means. The RSS family must examine itself and do some self-analysis.

Editorial Views Governors Under Congress (I) Rule

93AS0896B *Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi*
25 May 93 p 4

[Editorial: Congress' Governors]

[Text] A fact that has become a part of history books is that the state governor should either be apolitical or, if he is from a political background, he must elevate his attitude high above politics. In other words, if one is to become a governor, then one's qualifications should be decided by two things. First, does he belong to the party that is in power at the Center? Second, will he play the game according to the rules written by the party at the Center? The way Narasimha Rao shuffled the state governors like cards in a deck has shown us that he did not feel guilty about pushing all the constitutional limitations into a corner. Last week, the Congress Party was badly beaten in every by-election except for the one in Jalandhar. The prime minister has now forgotten all propriety and has decided to use governors to control various states. Otherwise, he has to explain this to us: If Governor Satya Narayan Reddy was not qualified for Uttar Pradesh [UP], then how did he become qualified for Orissa? The answer to this question is that when he

was in Uttar Pradesh the Congressites who were out of power felt that as long as the state was ruled by the governor they were getting nothing. Therefore, they began to scream that the governor must be changed. Now Motilal Vora has been appointed there. He is a pure Congressite, a rival of Arjun Singh, and an expert in the art of distributing governmental benefits, even to the grassroots Congressites. Now everything will be fine for the Congress Party. At the upper level, Narasimha Rao will be able to control Arjun Singh's increasing love for UP, and at the lower level, Congress members of every rank will begin to feel that they have control of the state's "musical instrument" without an election (which they perhaps would never win in the future). The thirsty Congressites in Rajasthan also had the same complaint. They saw that Channa Reddy, who was a Congressite, did not allow them to come close to him and did not let them "drink the sweet water of the government of power." Thus, he was also moved to Tamil Nadu. Both of these gentlemen could have remained governors, but not here. They were unable to distribute "syrup and soup" to the Congressites here. Therefore, it is not news in the governor's fete that Bhisham Narayan Singh's resignation has been accepted. Rather, the news is that the government residences of the two Reddys have been changed and, in UP, the tricolor showing Congress Party control has been raised.

Commentary Justifies 'Homeland' For Kashmiri Pundits

93AS0896A *Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi*
25 May 93 p 4

[Article by Chaman Kashmiri: "Homeland Is Possible"]

[Text] Nearly all of the minority Hindu population was displaced as a result of the terrorism in the Kashmir Valley. Later, the indigenous residents of the Valley, now living in various parts of the country, demanded a homeland or a Center-administrated area in the Kashmir Valley. Everyone is aware of this demand now. At times, many doubts were expressed about this demand. Some people consider it pure idealism; they feel that if the demands of Kashmiri Hindus are met, then the Constitution of the state will have to be suspended. This also gives birth to the fear that the merger of Jammu and Kashmir with India will become meaningless and India will have to give up its claim on Pakistan-occupied Kashmir also.

To make Jammu and Kashmir a part of the Indian union and to understand the specific position this has in India, we must pay attention to some specific issues in order to remove some misunderstandings.

The process of Kashmir's merger with India was completed when the maharajah signed the document. The rest was just a romantic game of kindness and friendship between Sheikh Abdullah and Nehru.

Multi-talented Pandit Nehru, all but became a super-politician. He knew the tricks of covering his communalist feelings with the polish of secularism. Nehru was an ideal friend, and this was the reason for his political hesitation. His stand on the maharajah and the National Conference leaders of Jammu-Kashmir were also affected. It is still a secret why the Indian armed forces did not, after crossing the present control line in 1947-1948, take back the whole Jammu-Kashmir region. Did Lord Mountbatten or the British Government's armed forces pressure India to stop? Did Nehru, because of his friendship, allow Sheikh Abdullah to have Kashmir to himself by not taking back Pakistan-occupied Kashmir? Did Nehru hope that Pakistan would be satisfied with Azad Kashmir if there were two parts of Kashmir? Whatever the reason, the incidents that followed proved Nehru totally wrong. Sheikh Abdullah showed these skills a long time ago. He acted as a friend, and took advantage of Nehru's weakness, sensitivity to international opinion, democratic thought, and most of all, his love for Kashmir. The sharp leadership of the National Conference continued to hatch conspiracies quietly and later emerged in support of an independent Kashmir. Azad Kashmir has become a cancer in relations between India and Pakistan. India has been in a dilemma since the Kashmir issue was raised in the United Nations. The Western diplomatic attack proved very costly to India. This effect was reduced because of the former Soviet Union's support for India.

The National Conference formed the Vidhan Sabha and decided on the state's Constitution. At that time, the Indian Government suddenly woke up from its sleep, and there were sharp differences of opinion at the Center. Talks were held several times to remove these misunderstandings. Gopal Swami Ayengar and Maulana Azad visited Kashmir at Nehru's insistence; however, they could not change the sheikh's mind. Sheikh Abdullah also traveled from Srinagar to Delhi and from Delhi to Srinagar several times as part of his strategy. He used to say in Kashmir the exact opposite of what he said in Delhi. Finally, the Delhi agreement was signed, according to which the temporary Article 370 was included in the Indian Constitution. This article gave the state a special status. The state Vidhan Sabha approved the merger of the state with India, and also gave the Indian Government the most sensitive authority, which meant that the area of Jammu-Kashmir that was under the maharajah came under the Indian Government. Article 370 is a temporary article. There is no provision in it about how the state would merge with India if it were eliminated from the Indian Constitution. Now the state's Vidhan Sabha will try to recommend a change in the state's autonomous status, just as Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq recommended in the 1960s. It will do just as any other state assembly in the Indian union would. It is important to mention here that when this was done in the sixties, Kashmir came closer to India and helped it a lot.

The belief that Article 370 joins Kashmir with India and is a window for India to look into Kashmir is a total

misconception. The window did not close when Kashmir was brought under the influence of such Indian institutions as the Supreme Court and the Election Commission, which changed the state head's title from [words missing] to governor and from prime minister to chief minister. In contrast, the connection with India was helpful to Kashmir in the area of legal expansion and development. Now the question arises: Who betrayed the country and the state most, especially keeping in the mind that the majority group terrorists have shaken up the roots of India-Kashmir relations? The answer is clear. The state leadership, the Congress Party leadership at the Center, and the conspiracies of Pakistan are responsible for this.

Is there any provision in the Constitution relating to Kashmir's merger with India that allows the reversal of the process of its joining India? If a specific right in the state is controlled, then can this article be implemented again? In such a situation, will the state or the federal Constitution be used? If the political leadership of our country cannot maintain this limited merger of the state for their political vested interests, then will the merger be totally stopped? The so-called political pundits in our country believe that Kashmir is being given a place under Article 370, even though it is in name only. They also ask why no place is given to the demands of other religious and caste groups in Laddakh and Jammu.

There is no truth to the belief that relations between the state and India would be affected if a homeland were given to Kashmiri Hindus. We can say that the state could be restructured after its Constitution were revoked; only then would a homeland be possible. We do not think it is necessary to do that. The state legislative assembly can recommend reorganization of the state after amending its Constitution. However, that is possible only when the majority leadership does not show its communalist character. True democrats should not object to the autonomy demands of Jammu Laddakh, and Kargil to establish sub-states. These will come under the state at all levels, and the state in turn would be under the Central Government. This way, there will be no hindrance to providing justice, equality, or law and order to people of all castes and religions in the state.

In 1965 India returned the Hajipur region, which it won earlier, to Pakistan under the Tashkent Agreement. However, the question of whether the Indian government had the right to do so was never asked. This affected neither Kashmir's merger with India nor the state's Constitution. The question of reorganization of the states never arose. Therefore, there is no doubt that the Jammu-Kashmir Constitution does not limit India's authority over Kashmir. If the Muslim majority of the state gives equal rights to all the castes and other groups in the state, then there is no problem of reorganization of the state. The Kashmiri pundits are a minority group, and just like the other groups in Laddakh, Kargil, and Jammu, they have the right to live as they wish, without being affected by Kashmir's special status. Their homeland can be a sub-state, not a separate state.

If Laddakh's people, who are smaller in number than Kashmir's pundits, can demand an autonomy council and government, then why cannot the Kashmiri pundits do so? Whenever the Congress Party governments showed commitments to meeting the demands of the Laddakhi people, the National Conference was not far behind in encouraging the Shi'as of Kargil to make similar demands. In such a situation, why was it not said that the Constitution was facing a problem, and that the organization of the state was essential?

The major reasons for giving the state a special status under Article 317 have not been achieved even after 43 years. Therefore, it is essential to amend the Constitution in order to meet the needs of the times and to throw out this useless article. The state Constitution did not expect that the majority, which is suppressing the other groups, would get encouragement. This is nothing but pure exploitation and is totally opposed to the principle of justice and equality. The special status and autonomy for the state was made to benefit only the Muslim majority, and the majority group, after receiving so many privileges, does not have any emotional attachment to the rest of India.

The hearts of most Kashmiri Muslims beat either for an independent Kashmir or for Pakistan. In both these situations, they want nizami [law] mustafa or Islamic laws. There is no room for the kafirs in nizami mustafa, and it is against the basic tenet of the state's Constitution. Still, supporters of the Constitution believe that interference with Article 370 will endanger Kashmir's joining India.

Too much has happened already. The supporters of the state's Constitution and its autonomy are deliberately closing their eyes to the state's political administration and its evil effects. This is because they have benefited from the various ruling vested interests during their 43 years in the state. The game of legalism and constitutionalism is mainly played in the subcontinent. In other countries of the world, democracy is based on realism and humanism. In our country, instead of politics, we practice politicism. Do the pundits of politics in the journalist's world not see that the state Constitution is the result of the National Conference, only one party's leadership, and that it was a temporary arrangement? When, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, other regions of the state raised a voice, it was suppressed by the Sheikh-Nehru agreement. Is not the root of all voices raised by various regional and factional groups conspiracies hatched by the National Conference and the Congress leadership? Is not this system, founded on selfish interests, nothing more than fraud? If we are realistic and objective for a while, we will see that the new Kashmir has not come closer to the purpose given in its original declaration. The ideal on which the state was built went into the hands of the opportunist, corrupt, communalist, and undemocratic leadership of the state, and the new Kashmir has become a forgotten dream.

The Kashmiri leaders amassed unlimited wealth. One would be greatly amazed by reading Babberkatu's book. His brother had slapped him over their small property in Sobra, and his wife was crying in front of a journalist, telling him that the terrorists felled their trees, which were worth millions of rupees. If we look at any Kashmiri leader of any ideology, living or dead, then we will see a similar story.

The Kashmiri pundit fails to understand anything. That is what Sheikh Abdullah said in the fifth column [chapter] of his book. That this is the worst word used to describe a Kashmir pundit. The so-called secular government of the state gave awards to this book. The Kashmiri pundit wants a homeland in the place of his birth. He wants a homeland where he is not oppressed, as was the practice of the last 43 years. Under it, the people of the "homeland" will have the same rights as those granted under the Indian Constitution, allowing them to breathe in an atmosphere free of fear. This is not an effort to end a state or its autonomy, under which only the interests of the majority group are protected. In this autonomous region, they would have all these rights.

Janata Dal Seen Unable to Stop Factionalism

93AS0906B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 29 May 93
p 3

[Article by Pradip Shrivastav: "The Series of Splits in the State Janata Dal Units Has Not Yet Stopped"]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 May—Efforts are being made at the higher levels to consolidate the disintegrated Janata Dal family. Opposed to it, those factions that left the party are still suffering from groupism and internal strife. At the state level, the Janata Dal (B), led by R.S. Bommai, is going through the separatist struggle during the organizational elections and has arrived at the court gates now. There is also fighting going on among the state leaders of the Janata Dal (A), led by Ajit Singh.

Recently, this scenario was commonly seen in the state meeting of the Janata Dal (A). Chowdhery Tarif Singh, the state party president, had to say, "I am willing to resign if the party is not progressing because of me. If anybody can manage the party, he is welcome to replace me." During the 25-26 May meeting there was open mud-slinging in front of Rashid Massaud, the Delhi acting Janata Dal chief.

There are many reasons for the restlessness in the party and for its opposition to Tarif Singh. One reason for the disagreement among the Janata Dal leaders is the position of head of the Delhi Women's Janata Dal Party. This position is held by Archana Diwan. Archana Diwan is also the head of the New Delhi Janata Dal. According to some sources, some people in the party are very upset at her appointment. Mrs. Diwan trains airline pilots. The disgruntled leaders believe that she is inexperienced in politics, and that she was forced on them by some leaders. She does not participate in various party activities, either.

In the early part of this month, State Party Secretary Jawahar Singh sent a notice to Archana Diwan. This notice said that she had been removed from her position in the party. She was not in Delhi at that time; when she received this letter on her return, this affair became rather messy. The first response made by Archana Diwan was to indicate that, since the state secretary had not appointed her, he had no right to remove her from her position. However, State Secretary Jawahar Singh said that whatever he did in this context was done according to the advice of the state party president and other leaders. The meeting in which these decisions were made was attended by Parliamentary Party Chairman Ratan Singh, Regional General Secretary Deep Chand Debas, Ishwar Pal Singh Tomar, and veteran State Vice President Uday Singh, as well as Tarif Singh. In addition, Tarif Singh gave the order to Jawahar Singh in front of several state party leaders to notify Archana Diwan.

When Archana Diwan protested this notice, Tarif Singh changed his position. Not only Jawahar Singh, but other veteran party leaders and Deep Chand Dabas, the state general secretary, have also verified that. After Archana Diwan's protest, another meeting to discuss this issue was called for 6 May. According to sources, there were a lot of arguments at this meeting. Tarif Singh denied that he asked Jawahar Singh to send a notice to Archana Diwan.

When we contacted Tarif Singh to discuss this issue, he said that it was Jawahar Singh's own decision, and that he had given him no instructions about it. Archana Diwan said that when she received the notice, she met with Tarif Singh. Mr. Singh told her that he did not know anything about it. Later, the state party president and Ajit Singh himself reprimanded Jawahar Singh.

According to Mr. Dabas, Tarif Singh gave his approval for issuing the notice. Why did he deny this later? We cannot say anything about this. In any case, Archana Diwan still has her position.

According to some sources, the state Janata Dal meeting held on 25 and 26 May was very turbulent. Leaders blamed each other for the inertia of the party. The meeting was called by the central leader of the Janata Dal (A) and acting president Rasheed Massaud. The meeting was called to formulate plans to make the party more active and to start public programs before the Delhi elections.

The 25 May meeting was held in the office, and Mr. Massaud was in that meeting. Both factions jumped at each other over various party plans. The special topic was over the issue of illegitimate control and the demonstrations arranged by Jawahar Singh against Anantram Dairy. According to sources, Tarif Singh was opposed to such demonstrations, while Jawahar Singh and his associates alleged that the senior leader did not participate in the meetings or take any initiative to start any programs. Instead, they slow down if anyone does anything or whatever is being done is being done in the

name of the party. The second day's meeting was organized by Vitthal Bhai Patel Bhawan. However, Mr. Massaud did not attend this meeting. Some leaders commented that he had decided to stay away after seeing the results of the first day's meeting.

Tarif Singh does not hesitate in explaining his side regarding the demonstration issue. He says that the question is not one of supporting or opposing the Anantram Dairy, but one of the party leadership's tendencies. "I will not do anything the party leadership does not want me to," he said, adding that they had an open discussion about accelerating the party campaign. It was a common opinion that a series of public meetings must be started because there will be elections in Delhi.

Attempts to Politicize Religious Rites Criticized

93AS0907C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 30 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Politics of Yajnas"]

[Text] After the politics of Rama's Temple comes the politics of Yajnas [religious rite]. The way respect and devotion to our country's culture is being sacrificed on the altar of politics is dangerous and troublesome. The politics of selfishness has destroyed our nation's character and pushed it into the chasm of depravity. The country that has historically been famous for truth, honesty, trust, goodwill, and good deeds for other people has become famous now for corruption, depravity, and immorality. The people still have some respect and love for our country's culture and religious traditions. Even during the period of our slavery, India was respected in the world for its cultural and religious wealth. To some extent, that still remains. However, some leaders, for their political vested interests, are stealing this moral and spiritual wealth and are bent upon making it untrustworthy. Even a hungry and unclothed person trusts Ram, giving him the strength to bear his problems in the name of Ram. The problems that are being raised in the name of temples and mosques in our country now, because of political conspiracies, are forcing the people to lose faith in Yajna and other religious ceremonies. We must become careful about it immediately. Gathering people in the name of such Yajnas is more for showing off than for worship per se.

Mr. Chandraswami announced his plan to have Som Yajna in Ayodhya. There is continuous talk about changing the date and format. A group of saints and holy men are talking about planning this yajna, while the holy men of another group have started to demonstrate against it. Scholars from Varanasi have been invited to hold Som Yajna. The local people have expressed zeal for it for two days, and then suggested holding a different kind of yajna. Those who know the format and principle of Som Yajna cannot be made pawns in this game of political chess. Now we have heard news about Nepal's Langoti Bramachari planning to hold this yajna. According to our religious books, there are specific ways to hold different kinds of yajnas, and no yajna can be

complete without following all of those requirements. The requirement for Som Yajnas include the fact that only a person who has given oblation to the sacrificial fire and has met all the requirements of this rite is qualified to hold Som Yajna. Have they found Yajna scholars who meet all these criteria? Som Yajna calls for a specific period, and it also calls for [animal] sacrifice. How can a two-day yajna meet all of these requirements? This is an important and serious question. How can the complete yajna be held without scholarly discussion and analysis of all these requirements?

Mr. Subramayam Swami, national president of the Janata Party, said while inspecting the yajna site in Ayodhya, "The Som Yajna is a method of freeing Ayodhya from the clutches of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]." In this way, he has clarified the main purpose of the yajna organizers. Both the BJP and the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] are opposed to this yajna. They have instructed kar sevaks to come to Ayodhya in large numbers to destroy the plans for this yajna. The organizers of the yajna are also expecting a large number of people. It is not difficult to guess what kind of results we can expect if a large number of proponents and opponents of this yajna gather in Ayodhya. Mr. Subramayam Swami, after inspecting the yajna site, expressed his belief to newsmen that the government would crush anyone who tried to stop the yajna. At the time these lines were written, we learned that permission to hold the yajna had been put on hold. Mr. Motilal Vora, the governor of Uttar Pradesh, gave permission to hold the yajna; however, due to the concerns caused by the changed attitude of local officials, the organizers contacted Lucknow and Delhi. Tents have been erected around the yajna site, and secret meetings among the organizers have been held. In such an atmosphere, for what purpose can the Som Yajna create a miracle? We will have to see. It is clear that the Indian yajna tradition has been to help the people and to make them happy. The main goals of the yajna have been peace, prosperity, and happiness for the human race. A yajna should not be held for political interests and revelry. If it is held for this purpose, it cannot be called a yajna. It is not appropriate to use a yajna for political interests instead of for the welfare of the world. We must protect the traditional and religious requirements of the yajna.

Paper Calls for 'All-Party' Talks on Kashmir

BK1706060993 Delhi in English 10 Jun 93 p 8

[Editorial: "Policy On Kashmir"]

[Text] If Rajesh Pilot [minister for home affairs] is any the wiser after his recent four-day visit to Jammu and

Kashmir, he did not, quite uncharacteristically for him, announce it to the world. Instead he chose to keep his own counsel, although the press corps was on hand to record all his toings and froings in the valley of discontent. This is in itself an admission that Kashmir does not lend itself to an easy and, in Pilot's context, instant solution. Not unlike Punjab, the authorities require the doggedness and the necessary wherewithal to vanquish Pakistan-inspired terrorism. What Kashmir does not require is confusion amongst those in charge of its affairs in New Delhi. As Pilot learnt first hand from the hapless people in the valley, they are harassed by both the militants and the security forces. To end the avoidable harassment of the ordinary Kashmiris who are in no way involved in militant activity and to restore a modicum of normalcy in their everyday life, ought to be the first task of the Jammu and Kashmir administration. The back of militancy in the state can only be broken by enlisting ordinary Kashmiris in that task. The turnaround in Punjab was made possible by the revulsion that the ordinary citizen in the state began to feel against the militants. From newspaper accounts of Pilot's interface with the ordinary Kashmiris such a transformation in the mood of the people in the valley cannot be completely ruled out.

What the Government needs is a comprehensive policy to end terrorism and bring back normalcy in Kashmir. The policy must cover not only law and order measures in terms of cutting off the channels through which the militants receive funds and illegal arms but ways of mobilising the public against terrorism. Also, there should be, if necessary, talks with sections of them who are prepared to accept a solution to the Kashmir problem within the framework of the Indian Constitution. There can be no question of talks with those who want to secede from India.

There are no soft options in Kashmir. Once the ordinary Kashmiri comes to recognise that the militants are fighting a losing battle and they are no friends of his, the valley can again come alive in peace and tranquillity. Meanwhile, the Prime Minister must convene an all-party conference in order to ensure the broadest possible consensus on the Government's Kashmir policy. The nation at large can be taken into confidence about the ground realities in the valley. Kashmir is not a partisan issue and no attempt should be made to exploit it for partisan ends. Particularly in the context of the propaganda about human rights violations in the valley, there is a need for India to give the impression to the whole world that on Kashmir its Government is implementing a policy which enjoys the broadest possible support. An all-party conference, therefore, will go a long way in conveying that message.

Commentary Foresees Sustained Economic Growth

BK2905120493 Delhi All India Radio General Overseas Service in English 1010 GMT 29 May 93

[S. Sethuraman Commentary]

[Text] Two years after an unprecedented crisis with a mounting fiscal deficit, rising inflation, and the lowest level in foreign exchange reserves, the Indian economy today is better poised for sustained growth. The crisis was overcome with top fiscal adjustments and tight monetary and credit policies. The stabilization, naturally, resulted in a slowdown in the growth of gross domestic product [GDP] over the last two years. India has successfully completed an IMF-supported adjustment program with financing to the extent of \$2.6 billion. The fiscal deficit, which was 8.5 percent of GDP in 1990-91, came down to 5.1 percent in 1992-93. The deficit is set to go down to 4.7 percent in the fiscal year ending March 1994 and further to 4 percent in the following year.

The major achievement has been in bringing down the annual rate of inflation from 17 percent in August 1991 to 6 percent at present. There has also been a fall in food grain prices. From a mere 1.2 percent GDP growth in 1991-92, the crisis year, the economy registered 4 to 4.2 percent growth in the year ending March 1993.

The outlook for the current year is much brighter and the economy is set to register an upward growth of 5 percent. This is because inflation has been contained, and the country has foreign exchange reserves close to \$7 billion. After the bumper crops in 1992-93 with food grain production estimated at 180 million tons and significant increases in cotton, oilseeds, and other commodities, the government has built up a substantial food reserve of some 20 million tons. There is also an encouraging forecast of a normal monsoon again this year. This should lead to further growth in agriculture on which 70 percent of India's population depends.

Industrial production is yet to fully dynamically recover, and the fiscal 1994 budget has extended wide-ranging relief in commodity taxes to boost manufacturing output

and promote exports. India has moved away from a regime of controls to total deregulation for most industries, liberalized the trade policy, and unified the exchange rate for the rupee to make exports profitable. The Foreign Exchange Regulations Act has been drastically revised, attracting foreign direct investment as well as portfolio investment. More than \$2.3 billion in investment in collaborative ventures, mostly with 51 percent majority participation for the foreign investors, have been approved already under the new policy. India's reforms have evoked admiration from the international community and, for its part, the government is irrevocably committed to accelerating the pace of financial and industrial restructuring reforms.

India's exports as a share of world exports are still too small in relation to the size and population of the country. Though India's trade deficit was much lower in the last two years than during the 1980's, exports are yet to gather the needed momentum. Industrial efficiency and global competitiveness are vital for integration with the world economy, which India intends to reach within this decade.

Although the balance of payment crisis for 1991 has been overcome, India will continue to need critical foreign assistance in financing its external deficits. India has been promptly discharging its repayment obligations under heavy external debt and will need quick disbursing aid for some years. Foreign assistance has traditionally accounted for only 10 percent of total investments. Without resorting to outright privatization, major state enterprises are disinvesting part of their equity. The government is now giving a much larger space for the private sector and putting greater reliance on market forces. India's immense resource potential can now be freely tapped to make the economy modern and compete on all equal terms with the rest of the world.

Though per capita incomes are too low in countries like China and India, the International Monetary Fund has raised the stature of the two economies on the basis of what money can buy in each country. This is taken to be an implicit recognition of the giant-size economies of India, China, and the growing importance of a few other developing countries.

Shrinking Budgets Said Causing Military Inadequacy

93AS0791B New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English
30 Apr 93 pp 38-46

[Article by Shekhar Gupta, W.P. Sidhu and Kanwar Sandhu: "A Middle-Aged Military Machine"; italicized words as published]

[Text] It is time to rush for the crisis stations in South Block. No new war has broken out nor a new insurgency. But India's strategic planners and defence forces' top brass are finally waking up to a stark, bitter and scary reality: starving under the impact of five years of resource cuts, reeling from the utter disruption of supplies from the former Soviet Union and haemorrhaging from the relentless involvement in domestic firefighting, the Indian military machine is losing its decisive edge against Pakistan. At a series of high-level meetings, the top brass and defence ministry bureaucrats are finalising near-panic measures to cut costs and to maintain the supplies of at least spares and ammunition from the former Soviet Bloc. But these measures are minor palliatives, for the malaise is rooted incurably in domestic and internal politics as well as economics.

Forgotten already are the halcyon days when the cover of *Time* magazine, hailing India as the new regional superpower, was emblazoned right across 50 million television screens in the "Mera Bharat Mahan" commercials sponsored by the Rajiv government. Forgotten also are the *mantras* of those heady days: blue water navy, airborne assault division, air-land battle 2000, army plan 2000, RAPIDS and RAMIDS, Exercises Brasstacks and Chequerboard. With interventions in Sri Lanka and Maldives the buzzword of the '80s was deterrent defence, a combination of military muscle and posture to deter likely adversaries. In financial terms it added up to a price-tag of Rs [Rupees] 27,000 crore in defence acquisitions alone in the five Rajiv years between 1985 and 1989, according to the figures of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Leaving that stirring vision behind, South Block is waking up to a chilling reality. An over-the-hill, overstretched, fatigued and impoverished military machine slowly but surely cracking to a dangerous halt. A machine no longer strong enough for India to flaunt as a deterrent before a troublesome neighbour. Last fortnight the Defence Ministry's annual report underlined the concerns: "Defying the worldwide trend of drastic cuts in defence spending Pakistan's militarisation is being pursued with vigour, jeopardising the security of the region."

The gravity of the situation depends on who you talk to. Incurable optimists take refuge in the "but the Pakistanis are not much better off" attitude. The pessimists paint a 1962-like scenario. Official spokesmen of the Defence Ministry say off-the-record that they are horrified to see the slide. And so difficult is it to accept the harsh truth that despite several communications and letters from INDIA TODAY, neither the top officials of

the Ministry of Defence nor the three service chiefs have agreed to go on record on the issue. But at three cabinet meetings at least serious note has been taken of the slide in defence preparedness. The three chiefs have made presentations to the Government, painting alarming scenarios. Says a top ranking general: "The time has come for the country to decide how much defence it needs, how much defence it can afford."

If the present slide continues, he says, the 13 lakh-strong Indian armed forces may not be in a position to defend India's security interests a few years from now. Borders, maybe. But interests no. India will need the backing of a strong military if it has to continue with internationally inconvenient postures, either on Kashmir or the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty] or successfully fight off foreign-engineered insurgencies.

A Triple Hammer Blow

A War Machine in Full Retreat

Battered by the triple hammer blow of five declining budgets (in real terms); skewed Soviet supplies and excessive use in internal unrest, the Indian war machine, theoretically still the fourth largest in the world, is at its weakest in 30 years (*see chart* [see boxed item p 39 at end of article]). Says Air Commodore Jasjit Singh (retd.), director of the Delhi-based Institute of Defence and Strategic Analysis (IDSA): "If defence expenditure has been going down and deployment and movement is the same, how are we managing? Modernisation and preparedness are bound to suffer."

Particularly so, given that India's posture against Pakistan has been that it will emerge on top in a longer war with its staying power. But the War Wastage Reserve (WWR) is touching an all-time low for all the three forces, robbing frontline units of the ability to fight a long war. The 'brick', the basic unit on which a tank regiment is built, was rationalised to 65 tanks some years ago (each regiment has 45 tanks and the remaining are the reserves for breakdowns and replacements for damages in war) and has now been reduced to no more than 55. So an armoured regiment may be unable to field its full strength in battle even on Day-II of a war. The same predicament prevails on crucial ammunition and in frontline air force squadrons. Says Air Marshal M.M. Singh (retd.): "As far as the WWRs are concerned, we don't have enough ammunition, stores, missiles or bombs." Consider the following facts:

- Against the Avadi-based Heavy Vehicles Factory's capacity to produce 400 T-72 tanks a year, only 75 to 80 have been ordered in each of the first two years. Similarly, the Medak-based factory for BMP-2 Infantry Combat Vehicles has orders for 100 per year against a capacity of 350. This when massive shortages exist in all the units and the large Vijayanta force awaits replacement.
- In an era of mobile warfare, mechanisation is a distant dream when the army is short of 25,000 three-ton vehicles (light commercial vehicles) and 15,000 one-tonners (jeeps like the Jonga).

- In infantry battalions only 60 per cent of the officers have the operational status, essential to lead men into war.
- The IAF [Indian Armed Forces] has already "number-plated," (closed down) two of its Il-32 transport squadrons based at Guwahati and Madras to cannibalise aircraft and spares. The navy, where, of all the capital warships, only three to four are fully battle worthy—with their radars, sonar and weapons operational—is cutting on sailing time. Most other ships are primarily sea worthy: they can sail but with depleted firepower.

The Sundarji plan envisaged a total of 80 armoured regiments and mechanisation to all infantry battalions by the year 2,000. The current score: 59 armoured regiments—against 39 of Pakistan. Similarly the IAF's 15-year Long-Term Re-Equipment Plan (LTREP)—has gone haywire. IAF was to gradually modernise several of the 47 squadron fleet. Instead, the effective strength of the squadrons has come down to 35, including some with ready-for the museum MiG-21s. The fate of the navy's plan to retire its old Leander warships and Foxtrot submarines is similar. Says Admiral J.G. Nadkarni, the former navy chief: "If the navy's budget does not grow, we will cease to be an effective navy either blue or brown water."

Ominous Indications

When Defence Takes a Plan Holiday

So far the indications, reaffirmed by the allocation for defence in the latest budget, are ominous. Although the budget has registered a 9-per cent growth over last year's figure of Rs 17,500 crore and stands at Rs 19,810 crore, it barely covers the 7 per cent official inflation rate. Worse, with falling capital outlay—this year's allocation is inadequate even to meet the contractual commitments of the services, let alone acquire new weapons (*see chart [chart not reproduced]*).

Top level sources say the forces have had a plan holiday for almost eight years now. The fact is that the defence forces' seventh plan was approved only after four and a half years and then too with a believe-it-or-not proviso that the approval entailed on financial commitment. According to a 1989 study, even the army's deficiencies in equipment and ammunition amounted to Rs 11,000 crore. "I am not even counting the shortfall of Rs 8,500 crore for housing," says a top official.

With such resource shortfalls, the services have begun resorting to panic measures: freezing expansion and modernisation, cutting down on ammunition reserves. Just when some of the country's indigenous defence research programmes are coming to fruition, Prithvi (surface to surface) and Nag (anti-tank) missiles for example, the forces have no money to buy any. The air force makes do without an advanced jet trainer in an era when frontline fighter aircraft are getting more and more advanced.

The cruellest cut of all is on training. The army has not held a major field exercise since Brasstacks and Chequer-board relying, instead, on sand-model simulations. Allocations for field firing by artillery and tank units have been cut down. Ordnance units manufacturing shells confirm that orders have fallen to 20 per cent of their peacetime levels. After haranguing the Government for months for an allocation of a mere Rs 40-50 crore to buy ammunition for the Bofors guns, Army Chief S.F. Rodrigues finally won the battle. But by the time he landed in Europe with the cheque-book, the shells were out of stock, leaving the most crucial artillery units in an unenviable position.

The navy has cut sailing time while the air force has imposed restrictions on flying hours. Says a senior officer in Vayu Bhawan: "We are cutting down the number of pilots per squadron, posting the rest to non-flying jobs so at least some pilots can get an optimum number of flying hours." The result: the IAF packs almost 50 per cent less pilots per squadron compared to the Pakistan Air Force (PAF). In war, a damaged aircraft can be repaired and launched again as long as pilots are available. But can one pilot carry out three sorties in a day? And that too day after day?

It is an alarming scenario but the only good news is that Pakistan also finds itself in a similar mess. Its tank fleet too is in a bad shape—it is suspected that not more than 35 tanks per regiment are battle worthy. Similarly, the American decision to take back eight warships given on lease and not to supply the 60 F-16s has sobered the Pakistani hawks. But there are two major differences. One, while Pakistan's current doctrine is low-intensity warfare India's has been persuasive deterrence. Second, while the Indian defence establishment has been somnolent, the Pakistanis have looked for unconventional but realistic poor-man's options. The effort to buy 50 moth-balled Mirage-IIIs from Australia and the proposed deal for 400 Polish T-72 tanks at throwaway prices are examples of this pragmatism.

Pakistan has also been much smarter in looking for specific electronics and force multipliers. For example, the PAF has built a formidable air-defence system by integrating its Air Defence Ground Environment (ADGE) network and SILLACS (Siemens Integrated Low Level Aircraft Control System) which gives them the capability of picking up and tracking an IAF aircraft once it crosses the border. This means that an Indian aircraft will get intercepted almost immediately. The result: unacceptably high losses. Explains Air Marshal S. Raghavendran (retd.): "If you have 10 per cent loss of aircraft, no prudent air chief will send them again. This is in contrast to 1987, when we could have gone to war and won." Senior fighter pilots point out that even the IAF had evaluated and recommended the purchase of the same system five years ago but indecision stalled it.

Coupled with this is the American Cosmos secured communication system used by the PAF, which cannot be intercepted or jammed. Secure communication means that there is better coordination of PAF interceptors. The PAF also has at least a dozen pods of the reliable ANALQ—131 jammers, which could virtually blind Indian radars and aircraft. They are reported to have also picked up six Aerostats—a balloon-based AWACS which has limited range but is effective in the Indo-Pak context. They have also acquired in-flight refuelling capability. Yet again the IAF's demand for a single aerostat, to defend Bombay High, has been hanging fire. The IAF argues, given Bombay High's distance from the shore, just the need for an effective combat air patrol (CAP) will suck in two vital MiG-29 squadrons. An Aerostat will give warning time and obviate the need for round-the-clock CAPS. The Government's answer: sorry, we're broke.

Loss of a Big Brother

Chaotic Supplies, Ignorant Salesmen

The resource crunch has been exacerbated by the disappearance of the Soviet Bloc as a trusted arms supplier on barter or rupee payments. But the real problem is the maintenance of large holdings of weaponry and equipment of Soviet origin. Even if the Russians want to help, they have inadequate control over their factories. And by the time a delegation goes to a factory to buy military hardware, the facility may have already converted to making tractors or coffee percolators instead of armoured vehicles. And with the erstwhile Soviet regime's arms industry all spread out among the republics, new arrangements have to be made. For example, the construction base for transport planes used by the IAF is Ukraine and not Russia. Therefore, getting spares and other equipment from the new republics is not easy.

The transformation of the former Soviet Union from a pick-n-choose ally to an unreliable chaotic cash-and-carry arms mart has panicked even the usually hidebound Indian defence establishment to rewrite rule books and send out delegations authorized to make on-the-spot purchases of up to Rs 25 crore but with limited success. Officials return, pleading that the new Russian managers just do not know how to do business. "I have torn out my hair trying to explain what letters of credit, invoices, exchange rates mean to Soviet arms factory managers. They only want bags full of greenbacks," says a senior officer who has been on arms buying missions to former Soviet republics.

In desperation the forces have even gone to private export-import houses whose executives have been quick to pick up the nuances of doing business in the East Bloc. A prominent Delhi-based export house has just procured badly needed spares for Schilka anti-aircraft artillery. Other factors also combine against the forces: the air force wanted to post an attache at the new Indian Embassy in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, to facilitate supplies of spares. But the External Affairs Ministry has

scrapped the post because of resource constraints. To reduce dependence on the Russians, the IAF has tired out western systems. But they cost more. One option is unavailable, the other unaffordable.

Haemorrhage at Home

Peace-keeping Wears Out the Army

Given the severe strain of internal security duties units rarely get the regulation two years in a peace station before heading back. Some infantry units have been on an operational status for nearly seven years without a break (see *Journey of 18 Kumaon*).

In his address to the officers at the National Defence College last year, the then vice-chief of army, Lt.-General V.K. Sood revealed that nearly 80 per cent of the army was on alert, a ridiculous state of affairs. On a rough calculation, about 40 per cent of the army is involved in internal security duties alone at any given point of time in Punjab, Kashmir and the north-east. In a recent interview with the official defence forces' mouthpiece *Sainik Samachar*, even the Army Chief General S.F. Rodrigues admitted that the army was "stretched".

In Punjab, at one point, elements of as many as 77 army battalions were deployed. The number has now fallen. A senior general in the Western Command frets that due to the paucity of troops he has been enforced to deploy troops in his strike units on peacekeeping duties. "I cursed myself, but had no choice other than deploying cavalry men in border villages on foot patrols," he says. In fact, at different periods, of the insurgency elements of the strike 1 and 2 Corps were used in Punjab. In Kashmir, in addition to other troops under Northern Command, at least 20 to 22 battalions from outside have been deployed. Observes Lt.-General K.K. Hazari (retd.): "If there is no internal security requirement, we can cut down by at least three divisions, saving up to 10 to 15 per cent of the army's budget."

Apart from the monetary saving, internal security duties pit the army in roles it was not designed to do. For instance, in Punjab a unique but controversial experiment was tried out—of the army units playing second fiddle to the police—the army lays the cordon while the police conducts the search. Senior officers say such experiments are disorienting. Says Major-General Afsar Karim (retd.): "In Ahmedabad when we were called out for internal security, I had to re-train the men. The officers had begun to behave like *thanedars* (inspectors) rather than soldiers."

Constant deployment has also taken its toll on individual training, cut down on leave and caused discontent. At a recent briefing even the prime minister was given the example of a unit that had averaged no more than seven months per station in the past 15 years. Says Major Shankar Bhaduri (retd.), editor of the respected *Indian Defence Review*: "The battalion commandant is the most harassed man today. At this rate the army will wear itself out."

India's is the most active peacetime army in the world. In the past decade it has suffered more than 10,000 casualties either in internal peace-keeping or in Sri Lanka and as a result, most infantry units are tired. "The jawan, the greatest asset of the Indian Army, has been grossly misused and put under a tremendous strain. It's a tired army," says Lt.-General V.K. Nayar, an ex-army commander of repute. It was precisely to avoid this that the Government had sanctioned a new peace-keeping force, called Rashtriya Rifles, consisting of ex-servicemen. However, the resource crunch stopped the plan.

Analysts fear that the low level of Indian preparedness may send out the wrong signals to the other side. This could be a reason why Pakistan continues to wage a low-intensity war in Kashmir. Stephen Philip Cohen, professor of political science at the University of Illinois and author of landmark books on India and Pakistani armies, argues that every war in South Asia began with a miscalculation. "And now we are entering a zone of uncertainty, where Indian military capability is not certain and there could be a misjudgment," he says.

Strategic thinkers argue that it is precisely a high level of defence preparedness that prevented a war in the late '70s and '80s that is now being eroded. For nearly two decades now the Indian doctrine has been the prevention of war through persuasive deterrence. The message to Pakistan has been: if you cause too much trouble in Kashmir, we will hit back in the plains, slice through the desert and sit astride the Indus river while the navy chokes your supplies. Today with the army and air force increasingly unable to maintain that superiority, this is changing.

Ironically, it is the high-speed modernisation in the 1985-89 period that is seen as the main cause for most of the problems. Many other experts wonder if the Rs 27,000-crore spent in this period have bought India enough security. It was the first time Indian defence expenditure crossed the *Lakshman Rekha* of 4 per cent of GDP [Gross Domestic Product] and yet today, instead of sitting back and enjoying the fruits of investment, we are repaying debts and counting chinks in our armour. Partly it was because of reckless catalogue buying, motivated either by the craze for equipment matching that of Pakistan or the persuasive power of the then flourishing breed of arms salesmen. But K.C. Pant, who was the defence minister in those heady days of free-for-all purchases defends the buying spree: "No purchase during the '80s was unnecessary. We have to accept, to pay the price for defence preparedness."

Damage Control

Cutting Fat, Preserving Firepower

Belatedly and forced by desperate necessity, the forces have begun damage control measures. They are looking at areas of cost cuts, particularly reduction in manpower. A massive programme to put units under suspended

animation and to mothball equipment is being undertaken—some possibly with Israeli help. The Defence Ministry's annual report talks in detail about mothballing and the setting up of the special surplus stores disposal committee to reduce inventories. Two categories of mothballing are being tried, possibly with Israeli help. Under one, equipment including heavy 130 mm artillery will be literally put under the wraps and left in large godowns to prevent both wear and tear and maintenance expenses. The other shorter term approach is to consign tanks and other tracked vehicles to the godowns after heavy greasing. The Israelis, who maintain small standing armies but huge reserves, do both with success. But the Government is still shy of an open deal with Israel. It has been sleeping on an Israeli offer to modernise and upgrade the ageing MiG-21s for fear of a political fall-out in the Islamic world. The Government has even said no to posting a military attaché in Israel for the same reason. The situation is too serious for such niceties.

Exercises have also begun to cut costs elsewhere. The army has already accepted the premise that China is no longer a hostile neighbour and has begun thinning out units along the Tibetan border. Former IPKF [Indian Peace Keeping Force] commander, Lt.-General Depinder Singh (retd.), suggests that 10,000 or so superseded officers, who could be a drag, be given a golden handshake. Similarly massive cost cuts could be attained by giving officers a servant allowance of Rs 800 per month—mostly tax-free under present laws—instead of an orderly in peace-station postings as each jawan costs the army at least Rs 3,000 per month. The forces' vehicle fleet could be standardised and major suppliers such as Tata and Leyland asked to set up workshops near cantonments. This would enable drastic reduction in the size of the corps of electrical and mechanical engineers (EME) which could then primarily be used to service and maintain weaponry.

All three forces are also reaching outwards, hoping to earn cash by training foreign militaries. Former defence minister Sharad Pawar's recent Memorandum of Understanding on defence cooperation with Malaysia, which includes training Royal Malaysian Air Force pilots and maintaining the MiG-29 squadrons, was just a beginning.

But the fact is, the bane of Indian defence is the utter lack of long-term perspective planning because the chiefs have too short a tenure, the bureaucrats are transient and the political leadership often ignorant about military matters. Even for routine dealings, it is the ministry that calls the shots rather than the men in uniform. Says Lt.-General R. Narasimhan (retd.): "The Ministry of Defence (MOD) is a bloated organisation entirely staffed by civilians. The defence secretary is a bureaucrat who may be posted from the Animal Husbandry Department and would be going on to Culture." Adds a senior admiral: "Officers walk the file through MOD because these *babus* have the authority to say no but cannot say yes." Even the Parliamentary Estimates Committee was

critical of the manner in which decisions are taken in the MOD. In its recommendations it stated: "The decision making process in the MOD needs to be reformed. For this purpose, far greater powers should be delegated to the three chiefs of staff."

This was also the thrust of the Arun Singh Committee report (*see box* [see boxed item p 46 at end of article]), which suggested some far-reaching structural changes and has not been made public due to differing perceptions of the civilian bureaucracy and the three services.

But, given the Government's preoccupation with internal problems, such major steps are unlikely to be taken soon. "We have a preoccupied prime minister, a fractious cabinet and not even a defence minister of our own. We can only carry on, for ours is not to question why," says a bitter admiral, and remembers the anguished lines from Brig. J.P. Dalvi's *Himalayan Blunder*: "1962 was a national failure for which every Indian is guilty. A failure of higher direction of war, of the Opposition, of the General Staff (myself included)...public opinion and the press...For the Government it was a Himalayan blunder at all levels."

The writing, the admiral says, is on the wall. Either the country gets its act together, or it makes adjustments in its foreign policy to suit lower levels of military power. The consequences of such a mismatch—an aggressive political posture and an ill-prepared military—must not be forgotten by South Block. India's China war happened barely three decades ago. [Boxed item p 39]

Window of Vulnerability

Developments/Consequences

ARMY: Of the 59 Armoured regiment, at present only about 50 per cent can go operational. That too when each regiment is based on a 'brick' of 50 or so instead of the prescribed 65, leaving no war reserves. Similarly, the 18 Bofors artillery regiments are plagued by a shortage of spares. Two batteries per artillery regiment are being mothballed.

Instead of fighting a decisive, long war, armour and artillery units may be battleworthy for only four days. After that they are likely to run out of guns, tanks and ammunition.

According to a CAG [Comptroller and Auditor General] report, in 11 major defence forces training centres only 30.93 lakh training weeks were utilised in the period 1986-91 against a total of 55.78 lakh weeks available. Ammunition for small arms was inadequate and marksmanship was found wanting in several centres.

Inadequate training may affect the war fighting capability, a factor blamed for poor performance of most units in the 1962 and 1965 wars.

Deposing before the 19th Parliament Estimates Committee Army vice-chief Lt. General Vijay Singh said

there a deficiency of almost 9,000 captains in the army. The air force and the navy are also short by 900 and 800 officers respectively.

Since shortages are at the crucial, fighting levels, these are bound to tell on the fighting ability of the combat units.

AIR FORCE: Because of limited flying hours available for training, crucial precision guided munitions are in short supply. Last year, the serviceability of the MiG 29 squadrons was as low as 30 per cent for want of spares and two transport squadrons had to be disbanded for the same reasons.

Thus, while the IAF consistently launched 500 sorties-plus every day in the 1971 war today it may not be able to sustain 300 per day over a fortnight.

Pakistan has acquired an edge over the IAF in Electronic Warfare Systems. Almost all their combat aircraft have Aircraft Self Protection Jammers (ASPJ) and they can equip nearly two squadrons with even more effective escort jammers.

The IAF aircraft, vulnerable to electronic jamming, are likely to suffer a heavier rate of attrition than in 1971. It would be difficult for them to spot, track and attack PAF aircraft on strike missions. This will erode the decisive air-superiority on which Indian doctrine has been based for the past decade.

NAVY: In the navy of all the capital ships only about 50 per cent are fully battle worthy—with their radars, sonars and weapons operational. Most of the others are just sea worthy. Similarly of the submarine fleet the ageing Foxtrot are on the verge of being phased out while the newer Kilo class submarines are plagued by a host of problems that affect their operational capability.

This is likely to curtail the navy's staying power at sea and severely restrict its capability to operate as an offensive weapon. [Boxed item p 42]

Stalled Projects

IGMDP: The Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme involving Prithvi, Agni, Nag and Akash has progressed. Prithvi and Nag have passed trials but production of prototypes is stalled.

ARJUN MBT: After nearly a seven-year delay the army has accepted the prototype. But with funds being cut for development or acquisitions the project may have to be mothballed.

LCA: The Light Combat Aircraft [LCA] project has already consumed nearly Rs 2,000 crore. It was meant to replace the MiG-21s but is still in the drawing-board stage. Paucity of funds may now abort it.

INSAS: The Indian Small Arms System to replace the 7.62 mm small arms with 5.56 mm has been perfected to increase firepower and mobility. But there is no money. The project costs over Rs 2,000 crore.

[Boxed item p 44]

Nuclear Arms: The End Game Option

Proliferation of nuclear weapons and delivery systems continues to be a source of concern for our national security.—From the 1992-93 Defence Report

This clear articulation of the potential nuclear threat to India reveals that the nuclear factor has become an intrinsic part of the strategic equation in the subcontinent and cannot be ruled out in the case of any future conflict. To many, this axiom makes all other calculations—tank regiments, strike corps, fighters and precision-guided munitions—irrelevant. For, in the subcontinent, if a country was forced to use the nuclear option the moment it seemed to be losing, it would make conventional superiority irrelevant.

Supporting this school of thought are the recent revelations in the U.S. media that Pakistan did force the V.P. Singh government to back off at a time of heightened border tensions in 1990 by threatening to use the nuclear option. And while there may be some hype in these reports, South Block sources confirm the substance: former U.S. president George Bush's representative Robert Gates had told India that the Pakistanis could use the nuclear option in war. The military establishment, however, feels that this should not be taken as proof of the theory of a subcontinental balance of nuclear terror. "The Chinese nukes maybe. But the Pakistani nukes do not give me a cold sweat," says a retired army chief, arguing that Pakistan could think of using the nuclear option only as a last gesture of defiance since the retaliation "could be in the range of 10 megatons for one".

There could be some exaggeration in that. The South Block calculation is that Pakistan would be unlikely to resort to using nuclear weapons unless the very survival of the nation was at stake. "What the nuclear capability does is to make sure that the old scenarios of Indian armour crossing the Sukkur barrage over the Indus and slicing Pakistan into two are a thing of the past," admits a senior general of the Indian Army.

Another dangerous temptation for the cash-strapped economies of India and Pakistan is that nukes provide more bangs for the bucks and are much cheaper than a conventional arsenal. In a recent book, titled *Nuclear India*, the author, Brigadier V.K. Nair (retd.), estimates that an arsenal of 132 nuclear warheads, adequate to meet both the Pakistani and Chinese threats, would cost India Rs 7,000 crore. Spread over a decade, this would need an outflow of a mere Rs 600 crore per year—less than the cost of a Mirage-2000 squadron. In fact, Nair argues that by marginal reductions in the force levels, the nation could have a nuclear arsenal and conventional superiority while keeping the defence budget well below four percent of the GDP.

With both countries still having only limited delivery systems (see diagram [diagram not reproduced]), it is

premature for nuclearisation to bring about a deterrent of the MAD (mutually assured destruction) variety. Pakistan still depends on a handful of F-16s which are believed to have the hard-points necessary to carry nuclear bombs. Jaguars or Mirage-2000s could be used by India if some are modified to become nuclear capable—India does not have the Mirage-2000N, the nuclear capable version. The missile delivery system are as yet uncertain. Prithvi has not yet been fully tested and Agni is much too premature.

South Block analysts feel it is perhaps because of nuclear smugness that Pakistan is emboldened enough to continue with low-intensity conflict against India in Kashmir and elsewhere. Pakistan now perhaps believes that given its nuclear edge, India would no longer be able to use that option. It is precisely through such miscalculations that wars usually begin. Even the latest Carnegie report warns: "The upsurge of the Hindu-Muslim animosity throughout South Asia following the destruction of the Ayodhya mosque has heightened the danger of a war between India and Pakistan that could escalate to the nuclear level."

The crucial question to which the subcontinent's security experts still don't have an answer is: will nuclearisation prevent war, or bring a war to an early end? Or end with the end game?

—Shekhar Gupta and W.P.S. Sidhu

[Boxed item p 46]

Arun Singh Committee

Bold Ideas

The high-level Committee on Defence Expenditures (CDE) headed by Arun Singh suggested several changes in the defence organisation to cut costs and improve teeth-to-tail ratios. Crucial elements of the report still remain undisclosed:

- Integration of the three service headquarters and the setting up of a Vice-Chief of Defence Staff (VCDS) from among any service. He would represent the forces collectively in the Defence Ministry. He would also have direct access to the defence minister. And also other changes to prevent triplication of duties at different levels—Ministry of Defence, Service Headquarters and Finance. The objective was to cut delays and reduce bureaucratic interference. This upset the bureaucracy and contributed to the recommendations being stalled.
- Automatic annual increase in the defence budget to off-set inflation. The Finance Ministry is unwilling to accept this. And there is IMF insistence on controlling defence expenditure.
- Enhanced financial powers to service chiefs who could directly channel funds according to priorities. This takes away the bureaucracy's financial powers and therefore is a non-starter.

- Large-scale cost-cuts in manpower by dismantling static or administrative units. The bureaucracy wants to push this but the brass insists that they either want the report implemented in its entirety or not at all.

Punjab Terrorists Said Moving to Uttar Pradesh

93AS0859A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 8 May 93
p 4

[Article by Suman Singh: "Uprooted From Punjab, Terrorism is in Uttarkhand"]

[Text] The Terai region of Uttar Pradesh is greatly affected by terrorism. This terrorism has taken root in Nainital, Rampur, Muradabad, Pilibhit, and Shahjahanpur, as well as in Merrut, Muzaffarnagar, Gaziabad, Dehradun, and Saharanpur, which are very close to Delhi. Terrorism started in Uttar Pradesh after 1984, when Indira Gandhi was assassinated, and Simaranjit Singh's bodyguard, Sargeant Seva Singh, opened a training center close to Hathiasot, in the Kalagarh jungles in Bijnaur District. In this camp, Sikh youths were given regular training in terrorist activities. Three brothers from Terai—Santosh Singh, Mokha Singh, and Gachha Singh—joined this terrorist group.

The present leader of Bhindrawalan's Saffron Tigers of Khalistan is Sawaran Singh Javanda. Javanda is a very notorious terrorist. He was arrested in 1985 for robbing the Kichha Bank and the Bilaspur Bank. After he was released on bail, he disappeared, and since then has been involved in many terrorist activities in Nainital, Rampur, and Bijnaur. In addition to Sawaran Singh Javanda's group, the Terai region police has the challenge of handling the Satnam Singh Cheena gang. In addition to these two, gangs led by Balwinder Singh Binda (Bijnaur, Nainital, Pilibhit), Partap Singh Sarpanch (Bijnaur), Sher Singh Ghora (Bijnaur, Dehradun), Yadvendar Singh Yadu (Nainital, Pilibhit), and Satnam Singh Santa (Dehradun) are very active in the Terai region. It was Darshan Singh Ghora's gang that started terrorism in Terai in Shahjehan Pur, Khiri, and Pilibhit areas.

There are many reasons for the spread of terrorism in Terai. The main reasons are the topography of this area and the large Sikh population. The jungles in Terai are so close together that one can travel from Dehradun to Khiri through them. Small farm huts with a lot of land attached to them are spread around in these jungles. The spread of these huts and jungles are very useful for the terrorists for hiding, attacking, and defending themselves. Most of the farmers in Nainital, Rampur, Pilibhit, and Bijnaur districts are Sikhs. The terrorists camp in the jungles and get food from the farm huts. When pressured by the police, they move from one jungle to another. Thus, the Punjabi terrorists are able to establish themselves in the Terai jungles. Later, they recruited the local youth into their gangs and trained them as terrorists. Dozens of youth in the Terai regions have tasted nectar [baptism into Sikhism]. For persons with criminal tendencies, joining the terrorists is like a boon.

Nandi, a member of Sher Singh Ghora gang who was killed by Bijnaur police, was a cunning criminal.

A weak security system is the another aid to the flourishing of terrorism in Terai. The police had neither the training to control the terrorists nor modern weapons and enough soldiers until 1990. Until March 1991, there were only one and one-half sections of PAC [Provincial Armed Constabulary] in Jaspur and Rehar police districts. Unfortunately, when terrorism was flourishing in Uttar Pradesh, the government considered it a minor crime. The security forces were demoralized because of this attitude. No political leader said anything when the terrorists massacred innocent citizens and security forces. However, if a terrorist were killed or a person who was hiding a terrorist were arrested, the leaders made a lot of noise. For seven years, there was neither an important person to encourage the security forces nor a law to help them.

After seven years, the government finally understood in 1991 that it must provide more police, modern weapons, communication equipment, and training to deal with terrorism in the Terai region. The idea of providing job-related security to the police force was understood later. Giving 100,000 rupees to a policeman's family when he has been killed in action was a practice started in 1992. The encouraging directive to Give 1.5 weight [words as published] to the period served in terrorist-ridden areas was also issued in 1992. There is still a need for an atmosphere in the police department that does not make a policeman does feel like a helpless employee, but like a respectable member of a force who risks its life in such difficult conditions.

During the last two years, the security forces have killed about thirty terrorists. Hundreds of terrorists were [wounded] in these confrontations and about two dozen security force personnel were killed. However, it is an amazing fact that none of the police personnel fighting the terrorists have been given a medal for bravery, even posthumously. Any police officer staying in the terrorist-ridden region for more than two years deserves a medal for valor. The sub-inspectors serving in this region should also be honored for serving there. The policemen who work for a long time in a terrorist-ridden area should be awarded cash prizes. Praise and support by the people and the government can be very helpful in controlling terrorism, which is an extremely dangerous job and requires a long time. The Pilibhit incident was politicized, and the security forces fighting the terrorists felt that the people they were trying to protect were not behind them. Department officers and representatives of people should help build the morale of our security forces. Those who point fingers at the UP government in the context of controlling terrorism should remember that the Punjab Police have been fighting to control this cancer with a united and organized effort since 1984, and the UP police became prepared for this task in 1992, after seven years of inefficient planning. In addition, a comparatively smaller number of security forces here have to work in a tree-covered jungle larger in area than Punjab. We have to keep these facts in mind. The government has now provided the security forces modern weapons either.

Muslims Said Fed-Up With Muslim Leaders' Agenda

93AS0791J Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
21 Apr 93 p 8

[Article by Kuldip Nayar: "A Change of Mood Among Muslims"]

[Text] I had not realized the extent of hurt the demolition of the Babari Masjid had caused to the Muslim psyche till I went round the country. The wound is deep and raw even after nearly five months. The Muslim community feels humiliated and helpless.

In the last few weeks I have travelled through parts of Assam, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal and have met a cross-section of Muslims. It ended up in a serious discussion on their loss of faith.

The injured feeling is similar to the one I found among Sikhs after the Golden Temple was stormed at Amritsar in 1984. There is, however, one difference: the then President, Mr. Zail Singh, and Indira Gandhi flew to Amritsar within 48 hours to express their regret over the Army operation but, in the case of Babari Masjid, neither President Shankar Dayal Sharma nor Mr. Narasimha Rao has till today visited the site to make some amends for what has happened.

The historicity and traditional importance of the monument should have at least impelled the Government to be more demonstrative in its response. The package of building a temple and a mosque and referring the dispute to the Supreme Court is a cold, official approach to a problem that requires human and sympathetic handling.

Therefore, the solution-seekers have to keep in mind the sensitivities of both Muslims and Hindus and none of the two should have a feeling of defeat. So far it has been a one-way traffic. The structure has been demolished; a makeshift temple has been allowed to come up on the site and Muslims have been told that the masjid will be built "somewhere else". Mr. Rao has also not reiterated his declarations to rebuild the mosque and to remove the makeshift temple.

Perhaps he did not perceive the realities on the ground—not a healthy trait in a Prime Minister—when he assured some Muslim leaders on December 6 evening that he would have the mosque constructed at the old site. For the Prime Minister to imagine that he could honour his promise is to shut his eyes to the emotional strength that the Hindu communalists have gained in the name of temple. He has been too slow, too reluctant to take action when it was required. I am not commenting on the rights or wrongs of the case but stating an unfortunate reality.

Yet, rebuilding the temple on the site where the masjid stood will be rubbing salt in the Muslims' wound. It will amount to giving legal sanction to an illegal act. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh [RSS] and its front organizations like the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the

Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] will only feel emboldened. The presentation of a fait accompli is no basis for according recognition. There has to be a settlement, give and take. Otherwise, it will be a dictation with far more adverse effects on the Muslims' morale than at present.

Passing the Buck

The reference to the Supreme Court (even if it is under some other Article) is an attempt to pass the buck. The judiciary should not be brought into such messy situations. The problem is political, not legal. The Government knows it. And the way the Supreme Court is proceeding with the initial hearing indicates that it does not want to get involved. It may drag the matter unnecessarily. The passage of time will aggravate the problem further, allowing the fundamentalists in both religions to polarize the society still more.

The formula that the building of the temple should be allowed on the site is relevant if the RSS family can win the confidence of Muslims. That means renouncing its anti-Muslim stance. I have noticed a change among Muslims, they seem inclined to give up their claim on the masjid if it can help solve the problem. But they want to be sure that by doing so they can end the process of claims on other mosques and ensure for themselves and their children a secure future.

The Narasimha Rao Government has spoilt things by sitting pretty. It should at least make a public announcement that the temple will not be built on the Babari Masjid site. This does not restore the mosque to Muslims but it does not placate Hindu chauvinists either. Probably the best way is to leave the site as a vacant place so as to remind the generations to come about the wound inflicted on our values and traditions on December 6.

The plea by some Muslim leaders before the Prime Minister the other day to rebuild the mosque at the same place may be good tactics but not good strategy. They have to take the dispute out of the Hindu-Muslim arena, away from the status quo ante. What was pulled down on December 6 was known as the Babari Masjid but it was a historic monument, representing India's long, traditional composite culture. True, Muslims have been wronged but so have been those Hindus who have a faith in that culture. The two must come together to express their protest. And they are in a majority in the country.

A Make-Believe World

Some Muslim leaders still live in their make-believe world. They have planned an all-India tour—they go to southern India from May 14—to consolidate Muslim opinion. This will only provide grist to the anti-Muslim propaganda mill of the RSS family. Whatever their grievances, Muslim leaders must find ways for a secular expression.

The memorandum that the All India Muslim Personal Law Board and a few others have submitted to the Prime Minister justifiably asks for steps "to squarely deal with

the menace of Hindu chauvinism". But Muslim chauvinism has to be equally met with stern measures.

It is admitted in the memorandum that "the Muslims and all justice-loving anti-fascist citizens were betrayed" when the Babari Masjid was destroyed. Strange, none of the "anti-fascist citizens" was even consulted when the cliché-ridden memorandum was prepared. There is yet no effort to get out of the religious syndrome and make a common cause with the forces fighting communalism.

However, I have noticed the exasperation of ordinary Muslims with their traditional leadership. After December 6, there is a change in their mood. For example, there were slogans of "shame, shame" when I denounced the Muslim leaders who had given a call to boycott the Republic Day celebrations on January 26. Muslim intellectuals are also meeting at different places to chalk out a secular approach to the country's problems.

The mullahs, the Maulvis and others are being questioned if not challenged. This trend can acquire speed provided the average Muslim sees that justice is being done to him in the Babari Masjid case. On the other hand, the secular forces should give him confidence because he does feel lonely.

In fact, this is the time to retrieve the Muslim community from the stranglehold of fundamentalists. It is beginning to realize that its future lies in aligning itself with secular forces. If this opportunity is missed and he is left to fend for himself in an atmosphere where he feels his future is uncertain, he will get back to fundamentalists and the so-called Muslim leaders with a vengeance. He may fall prey to desperation and violence.

The real issue is not that of the Babari Masjid but of principles. All formulas and efforts to restore amity have to be looked at from that point of view. Any other framework may solve the problem temporarily, but will spell ruin in the long run.

Direction, Spread of Student Movements Analyzed *93AS0850B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi pp 1, 3*

[Article by Ambrish Kumar: "A Big Leap for Student Movement"]

[Text] Is the new generation of this country, which has been sitting defeated, directionless, and idle for a while, getting ready once again to let go of false goals and prepare for real challenges? According to recent incidents, the answer to this question could be yes. Student campaigns in different parts of the country in the areas of education, communalism, and economic goals seem to be showing a new energy. In north India, this is just a rising movement; however, in south India, it has become a regular wave. It was because of the student campaigns that two chief ministers in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka have been changed. The chief minister of Tamil Nadu had to bow to the student campaign. The students

in Maharashtra have caused the sugar lobby there to lose sleep. Now, in Uttar Pradesh [UP], where the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] wave of Rama's name was said to be taking shape, the three major universities—Lucknow, Benaras, and Allahabad—have seen the bitter defeat of BJP student organizations. This is an important development. The BJP student organizations have lost in UP's Kumayun University. In about a dozen universities, non-BJP and non-Congress Party leadership has emerged.

In Andhra Pradesh in the south, the student campaign against the education system has started to show results. Former Chief Minister Janardhan Reddy had given permission to establish twelve medical colleges and eight dental colleges in the private sector, and the students were forced to start agitating. The people given permission to open these colleges include the whiskey mafia, ministers, and bureaucrats. Among them was Rajeshwar Rao, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's nephew. The students led a strong campaign against all these people, and the chief minister had to "pack his bags and leave."

Karnataka's Chief Minister Bangrappa also followed this approach and gave permission to start private colleges, making the students angry. He even went one step further, calling education an industry, and even invited non-resident Indians to participate in it. Students out into the streets. In the south, left-wing student unions usually have control over various campaigns. These include the People's War Group student wing, PDSU [expansion not given], and the Krishnappa groups, and RASU [expansion not given] student groups. In addition, the All India Students Federation and the Student Federation of India have also participated. In addition to left-wing student groups, Telugu Desam and its' Student Federation started an education campaign in different places.

The Tamil Nadu government planned to give a medical college, which was nationalized earlier, to the whiskey mafia, and the students started a very powerful campaign against this move. As a result of this, Chief Minister Jayalalitha had to rescind her decision.

Student campaigns have taken place in Kerala over education and communalism, and against the chancellor's autocracy. Ten thousand young students held a hunger strike in front of the Kerala Vidhan Sabha to protest against communalism. These students belonged to the All India Student Federation [AISF] and the All India Youth Federation, and drew national attention to their campaign. Similarly, the students of Gandhi Medical College in Maharashtra started a campaign. A very strong campaign was carried out there over Patangra and Duttmegehe Colleges. Students in Bombay led demonstrations over this issue. Recently, north Indian students started a campaign opposing the fee increase for non-Maharashtra students. One student, Rajan Srivastava, committed suicide in Gorakhpur, and the campaign spread rapidly after that. In Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh, the main reasons for student

demonstrations are giving contracts to run educational institutions and fees for competitive examinations. In Kerala there are many other reasons. In the south, this slogan raised by the student federation is important: "Education is a right, not a privilege. The politicians in these states have changed education into a privilege."

The situation in north India is different. After the Jayaprakash campaign, no major student campaign prospered here. One reason for this was that during the seventies, there was no cooperation among student leaders, student organizations, and students. During this period, some student leaders with criminal backgrounds, mafia groups, contractors, and corrupt leaders were controlling student politics. The real issues raised by the students were ignored, and the so-called leaders of these groups focused on getting tickets to the legislative assemblies and making money through illegal occupations. That is why, at Uttar Pradesh University, where the SYS [Society for Young Scientists] from AFS and the AISF student organizations and their leaders were active, mafia groups and contractors had established their control. One reason for this was that a second group of student leaders did not emerge, and the second reason was that no positive forces emerged in politics. For this reason a new cry, "I hate politics," emerged in the universities. Because of corrupt elements in student politics, participation by students in politics dwindled and finally stopped altogether. The Congress Party was mostly responsible for corrupting student politics.

The situation is changing now. In Uttar Pradesh, the election results of student unions in various universities have raised new hopes.

The election of student groups is not a major campaign, and no major political change occurs through student group elections. Most of the time, these elections focus on personalities. However, the results are important for many reasons, and are pointing toward a new political polarization.

During the last two years, there were only two goals for student activists in Uttar Pradesh: the temple and mandal issues led to small incidents and emerged in the media as major campaigns. In Uttar Pradesh, a new communal student group, Bajrang Dal, was established, and another campaign was started against reservation quotas, in which Congress and BJP student groups had participated. Still, in four universities and 13 colleges in Uttar Pradesh, the emergence of pro-reservation forces, and the bitter defeat of Congress and BJP student organizations, are the events which cannot be ignored, especially because these happened in Lucknow, Allahabad, and Benaras, where Rama's campaign and opposition to reservations were very strong. The 13 colleges are from the eastern area, which is related to the Ayodhya issue.

These elections also exposed a conspiracy between the Congress and the BJP. The fact is that both share a vote bank which goes from one party to the other. Overtly,

Congress is opposed to communalism and fights against it, and speaks against BJP involvement in it. However, an interesting scenario developed at Lucknow University. A Congress candidate supported by Congress legislators, Hari Shanker Tiwari, was also endorsed by the BJP student group. Still, that candidate lost. Similarly, at several other places, the BJP and Congress student groups helped each other fully.

The fact is that these elections gave an opportunity to non-BJP and non-Congress student groups to unite. They used to be wrapped in their own party interests. It would be wrong to assume that some student groups will consider these results a major victory. But it is a rare opportunity when students have formed a joint front against communalism and in support of important issues. They are also taking some initiatives in this direction. Mr. Anand Pradhan, president of the Student Union of Benaras Hindu University, said that they have called a meeting of 13 student groups in Allahabad for 6-8 May. This meeting will discuss plans to have a nationwide demonstration against the Dunkel proposal. Meanwhile, non-BJP and non-Congress youth organizations are calling meetings to plan against the Dunkel proposal in Delhi. The students are planning to have marches as far as Benaras and Hyderabad to campaign against communalism.

On the other end, the All India Students Federation is preparing to launch a campaign for expansion of education facilities, making education more democratic, and to oppose the communal policies of the BJP and the Congress Party. At the same time, AISF is establishing political training centers at Bangalore and Delhi. These training camps, to be held in June, will help participating students learn about various issues and about politics.

With the emergence of honest and hard-working leadership in Uttar Pradesh, it appears that a national campaign will be launched by them. This is hinting of a major change in student politics.

Language Movement Initiated

93AS0852A JANSATTA in Hindi 5 May 93 p 4

[Article by Asrar Khan: "Let This be an Indian Language Movement"]

[Text] Various Indian language organizations, under the leadership of the All India National Language Protection Organization, held a sit-in in front of the Union Public Service Commission demanding that equal weight be given to Indian languages in competitive examinations. This was a milestone; however, the Central Government has not given any attention to these demands. Instead, the Delhi police, at the government's bidding, treated the demonstrators inhumanely, strangled the nationalist feelings of the Indian people, and also stigmatized the Central Government. During the first fortnight of April, the seven demonstrators who have been staging sit-ins in front of the Union Public Service Commission on Shahjehan Road since 1988 were arrested twice. Even

the government's efforts to have them released on bail were ineffective; the demonstrators said that it was an insult to be freed on bail when they were involved in activities to help the nation. They repeated their pledge to continue the campaign. The police found an opportunity to dig a hole where the sit-in was staged, and filled the hole with water. The struggle, however, continues.

As for the question of using Indian languages in high-level government jobs, all we can say is that Parliament has approved these demands twice (1968 and 1991), but it is avoiding implementing them. The time has come for us to ask Parliament why it is staging this false sympathy and how long it will continue the policy of the slave mentality.

The states that still require English state-level competitive examinations should be embarrassed about this language struggle. Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan are several of the states that have gotten rid of this slave mentality. Now this challenge is in front of Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, Gujarati, Bangla, and the Uriya state languages. These languages are no less important than any other language in the world. The writers, journalists, producers, directors, poets, and literary giants of these languages have won national and international awards and established their identities.

The Indian language supporters' demonstration campaign in Delhi has many good qualities, and also some flaws. The campaign has not reached full strength at the national level because of this reason. The opponents of this campaign have been propagating that this campaign carried out in the support of Indian languages is actually a Hindi Campaign, and its goal is to replace English with Hindi. They started this false propaganda when they saw that people like Pushpender Chauhan and others who were staging the sit-in were all Hindi speakers. Therefore, it is necessary now that the language demonstrators admit these mistake, stop staging sit-ins in front of the Union Public Service Commission offices, and bring the campaign into the streets. They should arrange for sit-ins in all state capitals. They should pay special attention to the south and start a major campaign, which should have participation by legislators, authors, film industry people, and journalists.

Those who are clinging to English should also help in this struggle for support of Indian languages, because English will not lose its importance, even when it is not a required language. The only realistic result of this would be that people deprived of an expensive English education, especially in backward and far-flung regions, will develop a feeling of competition, which is very important for Indian nationalism.

There is no basis for keeping English a required language in India now. It is not the mother tongue of anyone in this country. The Christians in India use different Indian languages. Therefore, we should not hesitate to say that, if English is the mother tongue of anyone, it is that of the British, and it a reminder of our slavery. In other words,

it is a language of slavery and of our rulers. It is the language that divided our people. It is the language that keeps the average man in the dark. Perhaps that is why some Indian leaders have said that it is the language of dishonesty. Compared to it, our history, all of our science and culture, our restlessness and our imagination, our comedies and our tragedies are embedded in our Indian languages. Therefore, this campaign to ask for an appropriate status for our languages is a great, patriotic campaign from every perspective. All we need is to involve the whole population of our nation in support of it. Otherwise, this linguistic slavery will lead us into economic slavery. We will be stuck in a cage like a parrot, and will be forced to give up our lives there.

The workers in the All India Language Protection Union should be happy to know that even the opposition legislators strongly condemned the mistreatment they received from the police on 19 April. They made the government aware that a handful of pro-English people have kept this country enslaved. It is important to continue this campaign with force, and to consider the efforts within the Lok Sabha as a small support from those people.

More Instruction, Libraries Needed

93AS0852B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 6 May 93
p 8

[Article by Mahendra Raja Jain: "When Can Hindi Be Learned?"]

[Text] A few months ago, in June 1992, Arjun Singh, the central human resources minister, announced at the inauguration of the Rajarshi Tondon Mandapam of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan that an international-level Hindi university in memory of Pundit Suryakant Tripathi Nirala would be established in Allahabad. Before this, in April 1992, the University Grants Commission had also mentioned the establishment of an international Hindi university. In 1988, the University Grants Commission rejected such a proposal on the grounds that if they approved a Hindi university, then other languages would also demand the establishment of separate universities.

In April 1991, the Central Hindi Committee of the Human Resources Development Ministry and the Lok Sabha's languages committee asked the University Grants Commission to reconsider this issue. Thus, on 18 November 1991, the University Grants Commission established a committee composed of R. N. Srivastav (Delhi), Gopinathan (Calicut), and Bandi Bedkar (Bombay), and asked them to present a report. This committee presented a report in support of establishing a Hindi university. However, the main problem for the Commission was that, if it approved the proposal, then twelve other major languages in our country would pit their claims for establishing similar universities, and the Commission does not have the budget necessary for that. The

problem is that the University Grants Commission does not have enough money even to support the universities already in operation.

There is another problem. The universities that are established in different states have no control from the Center or the Commission. They are fully operated by the state government. There is already Telugu University, Tamil University, and Karnataka University in the south. Therefore, we cannot call Hindi the national language. Because of this situation, the Commission approved the establishment of a Hindi university in its 25 March meeting; however, at the same time it said that the Commission could not give any grants, due to the present budgetary situation.

In 1980 Yash Pal, then director of the Commission, disagreed with the idea of establishing such a university and questioned its need, asking, "What use will there be for people graduating from such a university? Where would they fit in the national and international perspective?" He believed that those who wanted to establish such a university actually wanted to have Hindi accepted as an international language, and wanted to establish a platform for it where foreigners studied Hindi and literature along with Indian people. But do other educational institutions not have such facilities now? Many colleges and universities use Hindi as an instructional medium and have facilities for the highest level of degrees in Hindi. Yash Pal also raised the question in his written comments of how education about our country's art, culture, music, dance, theater, and photography could be better provided in this kind of university than in other established universities. Are not these separate departments established in universities now able to provide these services?

Fifty years ago, in 1943, Acharya Hazari Prasad Duvavedi wrote an article about the proposed Hindi university. It was again included in a collection of his articles, "Punaschh," last year. Mr. Duvavedi believes that the establishment of such a university would not solve all the problems related to the Hindi language. He wrote in this context that the major responsibility of such a university would be to release intelligence from worldly greed and to make our mother tongue the medium of instruction. This would mean getting rid of an odd language, and would relate to real knowledge and getting rid of book knowledge. It is clear that Mr. Duvavedi considered the purpose of a Hindi university would be to free knowledge from colonial pressure and to expand Hindi as a language.

In 1992, the Human Resources Development Ministry established a five-member committee under the chairmanship of veteran Hindi poet Shivmangal Singh Suman, which had to present a report within three months. These three months have passed, however, and we do not know what the committee has done so far.

This would be the first central university of any Indian language. However, government sources revealed that

the ministry has not clarified the function of this proposed university. The five-member committee under the leadership of Suman is responsible for planning the university's concept and its budget. The membership of this committee includes Ratnakar Pande, former Congress member of the Rajah Sabha; Professor Ramchander Dev, retired professor from Cochin University; Ramsingh Tomer, retired professor from Vishwa Bharti; and S.K. Misra, of Sardar Patel University, Gujarat.

In three World Hindi Conferences, demand for the establishment of a Hindi university has been made on the international level continually. However, this proposed university, in memory of Suryakant Tripathi Nirala, the famous romantic poet, is still undecided because, except for Sanskrit, no other language in India has a university. The issue of Sanskrit is different because it is not only a language, but also encompasses literature, religion, philosophy, astrology, Aryurvedic medicine, and science. The Planning Commission approved a Hindi university in its seventh plan on principle. But because of objections by the University Grants Commission, this work could not be started during that period.

I want to bring a Hindi-related problem to the attention of Hindi lovers. Until now, nobody has written anything about this problem or has discussed it. If I am not mistaken, perhaps no one has even thought about it. However, this is an issue which is fully related to our government's policy on Hindi, and if it is not discussed today, it will have to be discussed tomorrow. It is already long overdue for discussion. We Hindi lovers do raise slogans about our love for Hindi; however, we do not do what is really necessary to strengthen its foundation. Just taking out processions to show off our love for Hindi, forcibly painting over the English titles on stores, or passing resolutions against English-medium schools will not help Hindi, nor will it stop the use of English.

The number of Hindi books published so far and that are published every year is in the thousands. If we take a look at the Hindi books published during the last two decades, there seems to be a wide variety of subjects covered in Hindi publications. Now the situation is that Hindi books are available on every subject or issue. For those subjects in which there are not enough books in Hindi, the Central and state governments are encouraging writers to write books. It is a source of joy to see the large number of books and magazines published in the Hindi language. However, publication of books is one thing; bringing that book to the readers in time and providing the reader information about those books is something else. We have to depend on libraries for this purpose. If we forget the National Library in Calcutta, there is no library or institution in our country where we can get information about Hindi. I am using the word "Hindi" here in a general sense. In other words, I am not just talking about the Hindi language and Hindi literature; I am talking about all subjects written in the Hindi language.

The libraries of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, and Nagri Pracharani Sabha, Varanasi, are considered to be the two largest libraries of Hindi books. Nowhere else can one find the number of Hindi books, magazines, and old files that is available here. However, the fact is that even though these are the largest Hindi libraries in the country, they do not have materials on the Hindi language and literature that should be available in a major Hindi library. These libraries cannot be used appropriately, because there is no indexed book list, nor is there a list of subjects in which they have magazines or journals, nor is there a kind of Hindi list that could help one find information about Hindi-related subjects easily.

After looking at the collected works in these libraries, one can now understand the policies of the libraries. Perhaps the officials and librarians do not know themselves what policy they are following. Therefore, we need a Hindi library where we are not only able to find all kinds of materials related to the Hindi language and literature, but also Hindi books published on any subject.

The purpose of my saying this is that the proposed library should be designed so that it is not just a storage space for books. It should be the largest Hindi library in a real sense. When I talk about material related to the Hindi language and literature, then this proposed library's work is not limited to collecting books, but it should also have modern equipment, such as microfilm transparencies, charts, rolls, tapes, cassettes, and machines such as readers, projectors, tape recorders, video recorders, and record players to read these materials. If we improve the format of this Hindi library, then it is not necessary to say that the services of this library will be limited to readers in one specific area. It would be necessary that this library publish directories, annuals, lists of books, and lists of magazines and journals to send to every library, school, and university's Hindi department and Hindi organization so they can use them. If these special books are prepared under the direction of experienced and trained librarians, then we will see that demand for Hindi books will increase in India and abroad. These specific directories will become permanently important in the service of Hindi. As for the expenses of preparing and publishing such directories, they will cost a lot in the beginning; however, as time passes, and the usefulness of these publications increases, demand will increase enough that all expenses of the library can be met with their sales. In addition, the library could start many new and useful plans also.

English Retains Prominence

93AS0852C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 5 May 93 p 3

[Article by Anil Kumar Panday: "How Long Will Indian Languages Keep Up the Fight for Pride?"]

[Text] Literature is the mirror of society. If literature is the basis of representing a civilized society, then it can be made rich by the languages used in the society. A

literature produced by the merger of many languages is like the convergence of three rivers which represent a society's past, present, and future. The birth of a language depends on the country, the time, and the situation. There is no war among languages; the wars are among those who speak the languages.

Any country's national language represents its autonomy, universality, and prosperity. A national language provides a country with unity and continuity. Every person and society loves its language, and as the famous literary giant and poet Harish Chander said, "The progress of one's language is the basis of all kinds of progress. Without one's own language, the thirst of one's mind for knowledge is never quenched." It has been endorsed psychologically also that when one uses the mother tongue for study, thinking ability is increased.

Is it not ironic that our country has been freed from the British, but we are not yet free from our English mentality? It has been four and one-half decades since our country became independent, and we still do not have a national language. Only two percent of the foreign nationals in India speak English, and they are ruling the remaining 98 percent. Just like Ravana, whose life was in his navel. Similarly, the life of our pro-English people is found in the English language.

How sad it is that at a time when this nation is celebrating the golden jubilee of the 1942 Quit India Movement, we are seeing people who fight for the existence of Indian languages being jailed in Tihar Jail. It should be an embarrassing thing for everyone that we have to fight with our own government to get the proper place for our national language, Hindi, and its sister languages.

Actually, the struggle is to make the Union Public Service Commission stop requiring English in its competitive examinations. However, we should not limit the campaign to this issue only. This is a multi-pronged war, and in this context, efforts are being made to protect the 18 languages included in the Indian Constitution's Eighth clause. Demonstrations have been held in front of the Union Public Service Commission offices continually over the last five years. Among the people prominent in this effort are: Pushpender Chauhan, Rajkaran Singh, Amarnath Jha, Rabinder Singh Dhami, Mohan Sharma, Ashwani Kumar Bajpai, and Rama Nanda.

This is the longest-running demonstration in our country's history. Many prominent people in our country have taken part in starting this demonstration. Even former President Giani Zail Singh participated in it. He was so moved by this demonstration that he recited a couplet in Punjabi which, loosely translated, means "The world accepts power these days and ignores the weak." This is true, because English is the language of the people who provide employment opportunities. Its strength, therefore, is natural. Those who support Hindi from lofty platforms and call themselves Hindi supporters do not send their children to Hindi-medium

schools. Only those who do not have enough money to send their children to modern convent schools or those who live in villages do.

This is not a question of hatred for English; rather, it is a question of using Indian languages to get government employment. After hundreds of years of slavery, the English language still holds control in higher-paying jobs, and our people are still suffering the results of the polluted English mentality. For the sake of votes we call the other languages listed in the Constitution regular languages, and at the same time, we do not pay any attention to their development. The present successors to Lord MacCaulay are still trying to keep English the government's language. The truth is that Hindi has become the language of clerks only, and the same is true of other languages. Our Constitution has finally been translated into Hindi; however, its treatise is still in English. This example shows the situation of Hindi at this time; it is not, as the poet said: "I am the daughter of the Nagar; my name is Devanagri. I am your life, and the queen of all scripts. The country is ours. The other countries are ours also. The religion and caste are also ours, too. However, I am still a foreigner here."

In order to make this strangeness glorious, they established the All India Language Union. It was established by Pushpender Chauhan. In 1987, due to this organization's efforts, the Bar Council of India allowed the registration of its law graduates without passing the English examination. The country is proud of his courage because, on 10 January 1991, he raised a cry from the visitor's gallery in Parliament and jumped onto the floor, saying, "Bring back Indian languages and stop requiring English!" In this courageous feat, he broke five ribs on his left side; however, this incident had a direct effect, and the whole Parliament was embarrassed. The next day, on 11 January 1991, it passed the 18 January 1968 resolution again. It is important to mention here that on 18 January 1968, the Indian Parliament declared unanimously that 15 of the Indian languages included in the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution would be accepted as mediums for Union Public Service Commission examinations. It should be remembered that on 20 August 1992, the Lok Sabha ordered the addition of three other Indian languages—Manipuri, Kokri, and Nepali—in the Eighth clause. Thus, there are now 18 languages in this clause.

It is strange that even after the Parliament passed this repeatedly, no one has implemented it. Indeed, this is the Indian democracy, which is considered the protector of the Indian people's rights. Those leaders who speak Bhojpuri and reach the Parliament in Delhi immerse themselves in English upon arrival there. Little children who have done brave things for Hindi are better than they. In this context, Mukesh Jain succeeded in getting Hindi approved in 1984 for the Bachelor of Engineering degree at Roorki University. There are many other names in this list. For example, Ajay Malik succeeded in getting Hindi and Urdu approved for the M.Ed. examination at Jamia-Milia University. In 1986, Shyam Rudar

Pathak wrote his dissertation on technology in the Hindi language. The last person in this chain is Om Parkash, who succeeded in getting approval for the Hindi language in the All India Aryurvedic Institution's MBBS examination.

In spite of all these efforts, Hindi and other Indian languages are not respected as they should have been a long time ago. The indecisiveness in making Indian languages the medium for Indian Union Public Service Commission examinations for the last 25 years is because the resolutions passing in Parliament are not being made into laws. If the government follows up on the Parliament decision and makes the required law, there will be no constitutional problem in making the Commission use Indian languages.

According to our Constitution's Article 19, all Indian citizens have the basic right of expression; however, the Indian people are deprived of this basic right when they cross the door of a court. The judge can give his decision in any of the languages included in the Constitution's clause, but the lawyer is not permitted to present the case in Hindi. It should be considered very fortunate that the legal history of our justice, on 14 September 1973, Mr. Justice Kunwar Vahadu Asthana read his decision in Hindi in the Allahabad High Court.

The truth is that those who oppose the Hindi language refer to the Constitution even though there is no provision in the Constitution that English should be required for government jobs. According to Article 340 (1), the national language of our union is Hindi in Devanagri script. According to Article 343 (2), English could be used for 15 years after the writing of the Constitution. According to Article 343 (3), Parliament had the right to continue using English after that period if necessary. An important day for Hindi was 26 January 1965, because it received the glory of becoming the nation's government language. At that time, southern states strongly opposed Hindi, and as a result, an amendment was added to Article 343 (3). In 1967, the use of English as the government language was extended indefinitely.

At present, almost all Indian languages are passing through a difficult time, and we have to keep all languages in mind when fighting for them. We have to fight for the abused Indian languages at several levels. It is an interesting and important fact that India's original thought is expressed more naturally in Indian languages; therefore, it is important for the development of our languages that we accept this ability to think naturally in our languages, and to encourage them. This is possible only when the youth of our country are encouraged to think in their own mother tongue, and when this language is used in administrative positions.

Giving an appropriate place to Indian languages is a patriotic endeavor, and all citizens should be proud of it. It is our country's misfortune that those who receive awards for literary production are sitting quietly, sending their children to English-medium schools.

Today not only our country's languages, but our freedom, is at stake. Leaving a few authors to protect it is ignoring our duty, and is deceptive to our people who do not know English. In our own country, we ignore Hindi-speakers when compared to English speakers, and in this situation, our country's future will never be bright.

Therefore, it is imperative now that we implement a standard educational system in this country and provide equal opportunity for all Indian languages for growth. Many suppressed talents will flourish in their own languages. It is not appropriate to further practice double standards with our country.

Doordarshan to Broadcast on 12 Separate Channels

93AS0887A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 14 May 93 p 1

[Article by Atul Jain: "Now Doordarshan is Ready to Broadcast on 12 Channels"]

[Text] New Delhi (13 May)—The government, perhaps for the first time, has decided to take an offensive stand to compete with foreign television. Until now, it has been playing a defensive role. If the question of financial resources does not arise, then Doordarshan will be able to broadcast on twelve channels via satellite. They are considering using digital technology for this purpose. This technique can be used to broadcast six channels via a transponder. Until now, a transponder could only be used for channels. [as published]

The Committee of Government Secretaries has approved the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting's ambitious proposal on principle. They are now awaiting financial appropriations. According to Ministry sources, K.P. Singh Dev, minister of state for information and broadcasting, and Raj Bhargava, ministry secretary, and many other high officials discussed this proposal on Wednesday. In addition to the Ministry and Doordarshan officials, Communications Ministry and Space Ministry officials were also present at this meeting. The sources stated that Mr. Dev and Mr. Bhargava have personal interests in this proposal. That is why the technical aspects of the proposal were developed in time.

After this proposal is approved in the Committee of Government Secretaries, it will be presented to the Finance Ministry's EFC [expansion not given]. After approval there, it will be sent to the Cabinet for approval. In spite of limited financial resources, the officials of the Ministry are optimistic, because only 500 million rupees will be needed in the beginning. This much money was approved in the Cabinet budget for starting a channel in the common area. This amount, approved by the Cabinet, can be used for the project.

In addition, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting argues that when Star TV fills the Indian skies

with dozens of television channels, we will need technology to compete with it. This has been done in the past also. When Pakistani television rented a channel on Star TV, it started to air anti-India propaganda. By the time Indian television officials woke up, Star TV had rented out all of its available transponders. Other options are out of our reach. Now that Star Television has expressed the hope of starting not dozens, but hundreds, of channels, Ministry sources argue that it would be prudent for them to work on a strategy.

The sources stated that a satellite can transmit six channels from each transponder using digital technology, and the quality of the channels will not be affected. This technology is still in the experimental stage, but the results appear to be very optimistic. The Ministry wants to establish international standards for it. This technology works on the digital video compression principle. Under this technology, Kodak compresses the signals received by the satellite, and a decoder enables them to be received on a standard band.

Corruption Seen Spreading Throughout Society

93AS0885A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 14 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Corruption and Corrupt Lifestyles"]

[Text] What makes a man corrupt, deceitful, depraved, fraudulent, and dishonest? This is a serious question, and even more serious is the fact that even though there may have been some efforts to find answers to it at the social level, this issue was never seriously discussed at the government level. In government circles, they discuss law, the Constitution, politics, and protocol; and like a man trapped in a spell, the government, the cabinet members, and the whole bureaucratic system tie themselves in the functional trap and become totally helpless. If a man is corrupt, then the people around him also become corrupt. This way, corruption is like an epidemic that spreads from one man to another, then involves the whole society. When corruption becomes an epidemic, it becomes the lifestyle of the society, and controlling it becomes impossible. This corruption causes many weaknesses in a man, and when the whole society is trapped in corruption, then it definitely dies. A person living in this dead society becomes lazy, stagnant, timid, and to an extent, bereft of feeling. Corruption makes a man's skin so thick that it is affected by neither honors nor insults. Today, in our society, politics, the economic system, the administration, the bureaucracy, government, legislatures, and the legal system, there is a very ugly picture of rampant corruption, one which was not created in one day. There never was, nor is there now, a dearth of people who would do anything for their own interests. The one who complains about injustice is corrupt, and the one who metes out justice is also corrupt. There are some murders that make the murderer feel remorseful for his action. Similarly, government officials, justice system officials, and cabinet members do things that cause their consciences to curse them. They feel embarrassment in their conscience; however, because of a lack

of moral strength, they do not have the courage to remove themselves from this embarrassing situation. When the whole society is corrupt, one has no place to go to escape it.

The same question emerges again: Why does a man become corrupt? The flow of corruption goes from top to bottom and back up again, and it is a bitter truth that our politicians have corrupted our society through their own dishonest actions, and we have no comparable example of this in our history. If a minister is corrupt, then his whole ministry will be corrupt. This flow goes to the bottom, and every person in the ministry becomes corrupt. If a bureaucrat is openly and fearlessly involved in corruption, it is because he has the protection of the secretary or the ministers. A man also becomes corrupt in order to collect items of luxury. To attain luxuries, one must cheat. When thousands of stomachs are empty for many days, and thousands of ribs begin to shake from hunger pangs, only then is a safe filled. The fact is that there are millions of problems at the root of corruption, and they increase with the population. Our resources are limited. The land is shrinking, and the population is increasing. In such a situation, one must struggle to survive. In the struggle for survival, one reaches a point when all that can be seen is disappointment, failure, and frustration. One feels that there is no positive result to be gained from all this struggle, and one changes the path and takes another track, one of corruption that leads to depravity. A person wants to become corrupt after seeing the luxury in which a corrupt person lives. For example, a hard-working person surrounded by lazy people in an office slowly begins to avoid work. The increasing trend toward having luxurious goods also encourages corruption. Every person is becoming used to luxuries now. These people who enjoy luxuries make the officers accept bribes. If the doors are open, even a saint becomes corrupt.

Judge B. Ramaswami may have escaped the great thrust of impeachment; however, the people are not willing to accept that he is not corrupt. The Ramaswami incident became famous from headlines in the newspapers; however, the people who were to make a decision on Ramaswami's future should have first investigated their own consciences. Many of them are those who protect

professional criminals in order to win elections. These criminals cost a lot of money. To support them, one must be involved in corruption to earn extra money. How many legislators can claim that they have won elections by honest means and that they spent only the money allowed according to the rules? The prime minister has medical assistants available around the clock. He also has security personnel and luxurious items for his residence. The wise great men in Parliament staged the drama of impeachment and spent 10 million rupees without any reason just to prove that 3.6 million rupees were misappropriated illegally. Who is abusing public funds now, and how and where are these funds being used? The people have to make a decision on that. There always was a government; there is a government now; and there always will be a government. Still, 40 billion rupees were stolen without the knowledge of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI). Who is responsible for this? This impeachment show is a big drama. The government and those who run it need only a spoonful of water to drown themselves in. Neither the laws nor the police can stop corruption.

Information Technology Records 20 Percent Growth

BK1606033293 Delhi in English 5 Jun 93 p 13

[Text] New Delhi—The information technology industry achieved a 20 per cent growth rate during 1992-93. Turnover grew from Rs 2,650 crore in 1991-92 to Rs 3,210 crore, according to industry performance data released by the Manufacturers Association of Information Technology (MAIT).

The top 20 companies continued to account for 60 per cent of the total industry turnover. The software sector has emerged as the fastest growing segment with an increase of 50 per cent in domestic turnover and 32 per cent in exports. The growth rate in hardware sector was only 10 per cent as exports remained stagnant at Rs 270 crore.

President of MAIT Pravin Gandhi said the poor performance of the hardware sector was due to adverse duty structure which kept prices of the products very high although there is an unfilled demand for information technology products. This in turn led to lower investments in computer hardware.